COLLECTANEA
OF THE FATHERS.

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GRAECA ET LATINA

GREEK AND LATIN FATHERS

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GRÆCA ET LATINA:

SELECTIONS FROM THE

GREEK AND LATIN FATHERS;

WITH NOTES,

BIOGRAPHICAL AND ILLUSTRATIVE.

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PREFACE.

Great diversity of opinion has prevailed as to the value of Patristic Theology. Extremes, as happens in many questions, have been run into alike by the admirers and depreciators of early ecclesiastical literature. At any rate, some acquaintance with those ancient writings becomes every student of theology, were it but to enable him to test the references so often made to the authority of the fathers, both in historic questions and questions of doctrine and interpretation. The fact that, in exposing error and in vindicating and illustrating truth, theologians of all ages—we may say also historians and philosophers—have sought to enrich their pages with citations from those ancient works, establishes a presumption that a certain degree of attention given to the study of them will repay the labour.

In a text book designed for occasional use in a Divinity class, it is not attempted to include specimens of all the fathers. The former collection prepared by the editor included only selections from the Latin writers and apologists—Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Cyprian, and Augustine. Having, after mature consideration, resolved to extend his plan, by inserting specimens of the Greek fathers in one common text-book with the Latin, the work of selection, with needful compression, has been no doubt one of difficulty. But if he has succeeded in placing within easy reach of the student the means of gaining some acquaintance with the sentiments and styles of those leading writers,

whose names are more familiar to him than their works are accessible, he will feel that he has accomplished something not unprofitable to the expounder of the Holy Scriptures, who may be reasonably curious to know how men of other ages appreciated the word of God, and how (rightly or wrongly) they interpreted it.

In the former (Latin) collection, having regard to this end of the useful, rather than to what was strictly homogeneous, he had subjoined extracts from the institutes of Calvin, to the selections from the fathers. If these are dropped from this edition, it is because Calvin's work can so easily be obtained apart, or is so generally in students' hands. The necessary regard to condensation has also suggested a more abridged specimen of Tertullian. In withdrawing a portion of his hard, and to many readers somewhat impracticable Latin, it has still been the aim to preserve some of the most valuable, and withal eloquent portions—for they are eloquent—of the Apology. Cyprian and Augustine are abridged in a like proportion; Minucius Felix in a less—the argument is so connected, and the style so beautiful. This condensing process is more than compensated, it will be allowed, by the introducing of new names so well worthy of being associated with these, as those of Lactantius and Jerome, of the Latins; and of the Greeks, Clement, Justin Martyr, Athanasius, and others. Irenæus appears here also: he may be classed either with the Greeks or the Latins. Some would be astonished were the editor to say that he hesitated whether to give a place to Ignatius. Others will think even the stinted measure in which his epistles are recognised more than enough. "*In medio tutissimus.*" The labours of Usher, Vossius, Cotelerius, and others, have convinced nearly all men that the

greater part of the epistles attributed to the good martyr of Antioch, are spurious; and that most of those generally received have suffered interpolation. Still the question as to some of them is not decided. Not only Daillé and Pearson took opposite views; more recently, if Baur is strenuous in rejecting them, Rothe and Hefele earnestly contend for their authenticity. If Neander rejects, Giesler is contented, having eliminated the spurious, to hold the rest. Cureton, after careful scrutiny, retains the brief edition as found in the Syriac. What is presented in the Collectanea is chiefly from the least doubted of these epistles, and the freest from high assertions of spiritual power: a small specimen of the more doubtful is given; that the reader may see both the excellencies and the faults of this celebrated father. It is hard to believe that those writings are a myth, which the most eminent men of many ages quoted and appealed to, for the stimulating of faith and piety—a Eusebius and Theodoret, an Athanasius and Chrysostom, a Jerome and Augustine.

As to the fathers at large, our rule of selection has been the importance of the subjects, with a reasonable regard to variety. The passages introduced have some of them a bearing on the question of the Canon; some contain reasonings on natural and revealed religion both. Others have reference to great and leading articles of Christianity; as the Divinity of the Son, and Spirit. Augustine, besides his valuable views on grace and free will, is drawn upon for wholesome suggestions to the student, as to the right spirit which should characterise both the searcher,—the "indagator,"—and the expounder of divine truth. Other passages enumerate the general duties of life. Some give light on

early practice, as respects the worship and government of the Church.

The present Collectanea differs from the former in the insertion now of some illustrative notes, and the enlargement considerably of the Biographical Sketches of the Fathers. To have multiplied the former much beyond what appears, would have been to cause the volume to swell inconveniently. Such as they are, they will facilitate the reader's work: and the latter, (in which *multum in parvo* has been the aim) will not be useless as suggestions or remembrancers to the student of Church History.

One thing has impressed the editor as he has been conversing with those minds of the ancient times. If in some respects our Theology and Biblical Literature have gained, in systematic preciseness, by the larger means and materials for critical study available in more recent times, it is impossible to despise the immense learning evinced by these great men; and scarcely possible to overlook tho evidence of the Divine agency in raising them up to the great work for which they proved themselves so competent, of defending Christianity in the ages of its imminent peril. And the vanity of the men who would summarily dismiss those early leaders of the Church, and Christian heroes and martyrs, because of some errors in interpretation or doctrine, might be instructed by studying the example of their earnest and devoted application to the work of their day in building up the citadel of the faith. As to many of them, we have seen in the spirit of ardent Christian love burning in their breasts, much to rebuke the coldness, the selfishness, the littleness, of an age so defective, after all, in proportion to its advantages and privileges, in the primitive holiness,

spirituality, love, and zeal. Those who sweepingly disparage these great names, should reflect on two things: how much our matured Theology owes to these early labourers; and how stumbling it must be to him who believes that Christ has ever had a Church, and that the Spirit was promised always to be with it,—to conclude that the most distinguished members of that Church, and those who mainly formed the minds of their generation, had but little or nothing of this Spirit, either in his gifts or his graces! Though in a very different temper from the scoffer, might not many be induced to ask, Where is the promise of His coming? or, if Christ has been true, as no doubt he has been, in giving his presence to his witnesses and saints, shall we ignore or despise those who were thus honoured?

KNOX'S COLLEGE, *October*, 1865.

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I. CLEMENT OF ROME.

The author of the celebrated Epistle (or Epistles?) that goes under the name of Clement, is, according to the general belief of the ancient Church, the same who is honourably made mention of by Paul, (Phil. iv. 3,) as having "his name in the book of life." Besides the testimony of Eusebius, this is affirmed by Origen, Jerome, and Epiphanius. Though several publications were early issued under the venerable name of this father, such as "The Apostolic Canons," and "The Recognitions of Clement," which were soon proved to be spurious, the christian world has received with cordial consent his first Epistle to the Corinthians; his second has not been so generally accepted. The occasion of the writing, as appears on the perusal of it, was the existence of a spirit of dissension among the members of the Church at Corinth, evincing itself by insubordination, and harsh treatment of their spiritual rulers. According to Irenæus, the letter was sent by Clement in the name of the whole Church at Rome to their brethren at Corinth. By those who reckon Peter to have been the first Bishop of Rome, Clement is represented to have been either the immediate successor in that see, or his successor by two removes, Linus and Cletus (or Anacletus) intervening. A corresponding difference of opinion has existed as to the date of the writing; some referring it to the end of the first century or the close of Domitian's reign: others preferring a much earlier date. Wake, Dodwell, Vossius, and Hefele, suppose it to have been written prior to the year 70. A chief argument on the side of the earlier date, is founded on some allusions in the body of the Epistle, to the temple service as still remaining: though it is perhaps possible to explain these expressions as figurative or

analogical. Another interesting argument is taken from the name "Fortunatus," occurring among the messengers by whom Clement communicated with the Church at Corinth; the same name being mentioned by Paul in an inspired Epistle to that very Church. Being mentioned by *him* as among the mature disciples at Corinth during the Apostle's life, and still being in Clement's time an active messenger of the Church, it is natural to conclude, that no very long number of years had elapsed between those occasions of service.

The Epistle is called by Eusebius "great and wonderful." It certainly has the beauty of simplicity, and its spirit is apostolic. Were it only as demonstrating with what implicit faith the books of the prophets and apostles were received in that age, it is a valuable document. Eusebius relates that down to his day the reading of it was in use in many of the Churches. It is another token of the reverence paid to it, that the earliest copy of the work brought to Europe (for it had been long thought lost) was found included in the same volume with the famous Alexandrian manuscript of the New Testament, believed to have been written not long after the Council of Nice.

ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ.

ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΟΛΗ Α.

I.

Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τῇ παροικούσῃ Κόρινθον, κλητοῖς, ἡγιασμενοις ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ, διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη. Διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους γενομένας ἡμῖν συμφορὰς καὶ περιπτώσεις, ἀδελφοὶ, βράδιον νομίζομεν ἐπιστροφὴν πεποιηκέναι περὶ τῶν ἐπιζητουμένων παρ' ὑμῖν πραγμάτων, ἀγαπητοὶ, τῆς τε ἀλλοτρίας καὶ ξένης τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ Θεου, μιαρᾶς καὶ ἀνοσίου στάσεως, ἣν ὀλίγα πρόσωπα προπετῆ καὶ αὐθάδη ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας ἐξέκαυσαν, ὥστε τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ περιβόητον καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀξιαγάπητον ὄνομα ὑμῶν μεγάλως βλασφημηθῆναι. Τίς γὰρ, παρεπιδημήσας πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τὴν πανάρετον καὶ βεβαίαν ὑμῶν πίστιν οὐκ ἐδοκίμασεν; τήν τε σώφρονα καὶ ἐπιεικῆ ἐν Χριστῷ εὐσέβειαν οὐκ ἐθαύμασεν; καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῆς φιλοξενίας ὑμῶν ἦθος οὐκ ἐκήρυξεν; καὶ τὴν τελείαν καὶ ἀσφαλῆ γνῶσιν οὐκ ἐμακάρισεν; Ἀπροσωπολήπτως γὰρ πάντα ἐποιεῖτε, καὶ τοῖς νομίμοις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπορεύεσθε, ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν, καὶ τιμὴν τὴν καθήκουσαν ἀπονέμοντες τοῖς παρ' ὑμῖν πρεσβυτέροις, Νέοις τε μέτρια καὶ σεμνὰ νοεῖν ἐπετρέπετε· γυναιξίν τε ἐν ἀμώμῳ καὶ σεμνῇ καὶ ἁγνῇ συνειδήσει πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν παρηγγέλλετε, στεργούσας καθηκόντως τοὺς ἄνδρας ἑαυτῶν, ἔν τε τῷ [1] κανόνι τῆς ὑποταγῆς ὑπαρχούσας, τὰ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον σεμνῶς οἰκουργεῖν ἐδιδάσκετε, πάνυ σωφρονούσας.

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[1] Within the bounds or rule of obedience. See sect. 7, *καν. τῆς κλήσεως*: sect. 41, *καν. λειτουργίας*.

II.

Πάντες τε ἐταπεινοφρονεῖτε, μηδὲν ἀλαζονευόμενοι, ὑποτασσόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑποτάσσοντες, ἥδιον διδόντες ἢ λαμβάνοντες, Τοῖς ἐφοδίοις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀρκούμενοι, καὶ προσέχοντες τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελῶς, ἐστερνισμένοι ἦτε τοῖς σπλάγχνοις, καὶ τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ ἦν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν. Οὕτως εἰρήνη βαθεῖα καὶ λιπαρὰ ἐδέδοτο πᾶσιν, καὶ ἀκόρεστος πόθος εἰς ἀγαθοποιΐαν. καὶ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου ἔκχυσις ἐπὶ πάντας ἐγίνετο· μεστοί τε ὁσίας βουλῆς, ἐν ἀγαθῇ προθυμίᾳ μετ' εὐσεβοῦς πεποιθήσεως ἐξετείνατε τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεὸν, ἱκετεύοντες αὐτὸν ἱλέως[1] γενέσθαι, εἴ τι ἄκοντες ἡμάρτετε. Ἀγὼν ἦν ὑμῖν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς ἀδελφότητος, εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι μετ' ἐλέους καὶ συνειδήσεως τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ. Εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ ἀκέραιοι ἦτε, καὶ ἀμνησίκακοι εἰς ἀλλήλους. Πᾶσα στάσις καὶ πᾶν σχίσμα βδελυκτὸν ὑμῖν· ἐπὶ τοῖς παραπτώμασι τῶν πλησίον ἐπενθεῖτε· τὰ ὑστερήματα αὐτῶν ἴδια ἐκρίνετε. Ἀμεταμέλητοι ἦτε ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀγαθοποιΐᾳ, "ἕτοιμοι εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν." Τῇ παναρέτῳ καὶ σεβασμίῳ πολιτείᾳ κεκοσμημένοι, πάντα ἐν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπετελεῖτε· τὰ προστάγματα καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ κυρίου ἐπὶ τὰ πλάτη τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν ἐγέγραπτο.

III.

Πᾶσα δόξα καὶ πλατυσμὸς ἐδόθη ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ γεγραμμένον· "ἔφαγεν[2] καὶ ἔπιεν, καὶ ἐπλατύνθη καὶ ἐπαχύνθη, καὶ ἀπελάκτισεν ὁ ἠγαπημένος." Ἐκ τούτου ζῆλος καὶ φθόνος καὶ ἔρις καὶ στάσις, διωγμὸς καὶ ἀκαταστασία, πόλεμος καὶ αἰχμαλωσία. Οὕτως ἐπηγέρθησαν οἱ ἄτιμοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐντίμους, οἱ ἄδοξοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους, οἱ ἄφρονες ἐπὶ τοὺς φρονίμους, οἱ νέοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. Διὰ τοῦτο πόῤῥω ἄπεστιν ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ εἰρήνη, ἐν τῷ ἀπολείπειν ἕκαστον τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτοῦ ἀμβλυωπῆσαι,

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[1] ἱλέως adv.—some read ἵλεων, though the adv. may thus be joined with the infinitive γενέσθαι.

[2] Deut. xxxii., 15 (Sept.)

μηδὲ ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις τῶν προσταγμάτων αὐτοῦ πορεύεσθαι, μηδὲ πολιτεύεσθαι κατὰ τὸ καθῆκον τῷ Χριστῷ, ἀλλὰ ἕκαστον βαδίζειν κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῦ τὰς πονηρὰς, ζῆλον ἄδικον καὶ ἀσεβῆ ἀνειληφότας, δἰ οὗ καὶ θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

IV.

Γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως· "*καὶ ἐγένετο μεθ' ἡμέρας, ἤνεγκεν* Κάϊν *ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ* Θεῷ, *καὶ* Ἄβελ *ἤνεγκεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν προβάτων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στεάτων αὐτῶν.* Καὶ *ἐπεῖδεν ὁ* Θεὸς *ἐπὶ* Ἄβελ *καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις αὐτοῦ· ἐπὶ δὲ* Κάϊν *καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις αὐτοῦ οὐ προσέσχεν.* Καὶ *ἐλυπήθη* Κάϊν *λίαν, καὶ συνέπεσεν τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ.* Καὶ *εἶπεν ὁ* Θεὸς *πρὸς* Κάϊν· *ἵνα τί περίλυπος ἐγένου; καὶ ἵνα τί συνέπεσεν τὸ πρόσωπόν σου;* Οὐκ[1] *ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκης, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς, ἥμαρτες;* Ἡσύχασον· *πρός σε ἡ ἀποστροφὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ σὺ ἄρξεις αὐτοῦ.* Καὶ *εἶπεν* Κάϊν *πρὸς* Ἄβελ *τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον.* Καὶ *ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, ἀνέστη* Κάϊν *ἐπὶ* Ἄβελ *τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν."* Ὁρᾶτε, *ἀδελφοὶ,* [2] *ζῆλος καὶ φθόνος ἀδελφοκτονίαν κατειργάσατο.* Διὰ *ζῆλος*[3] *ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν* Ἰακὼβ *ἀπέδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου* Ἡσαῦ *τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ.* Ζῆλος *ἐποίησεν* Ἰωσὴφ *μέχρι θανάτου διωχθῆναι, καὶ μέχρι δουλείας εἰσελθεῖν.* Ζῆλος *φυγεῖν ἠνάγκασε* Μωϋσῆν *ἀπὸ προσώπου* Φαραὼ *βασιλέως* Αἰγύπτου, *ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμοφύλου·* "*τίς σε κατέστησεν κριτὴν ἢ δικαστὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν; μὴ ἀνελεῖν με σὺ θέλεις, ὃν τρόπον ἀνεῖλες ἐχθὲς τὸν* Αἰγύπτιον;' Διὰ *ζῆλον* Ἀαρὼν *καὶ* Μαριὰμ *ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς ηὐλίσθησαν.* Ζῆλος Δαθὰν *καὶ* Ἀβειρὼν *ζῶντας κατήγαγεν εἰς ᾅδου, διὰ τὸ στασιάσαι αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν θεράποντα τοῦ* Θεοῦ Μωϋσῆν. Διὰ *ζῆλος* Δαβὶδ *φθόνον ἔσχεν οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ* Σαοὺλ *βασιλέως* Ἰσραὴλ *ἐδιώχθη.*

[1] Gen. iv. (Sept.)

[2] A word used in bon. or mal. part.—here in mal.

[3] Used rarely, as if neuter.

V.

'Αλλ' ἵνα τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑποδειγμάτων παυσώμεθα, ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔγγιστα γενομένους ἀθλητάς. Λάβωμεν τῆς γενεᾶς ἡμῶν τὰ γενναῖα ὑποδείγματα. Διὰ ζῆλον καὶ χθόνον οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ δικαιότατοι στύλοι ἐδιώχθησαν, καὶ ἕως θανάτου ἦλθον. Λάβωμεν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς 'Αποστολους. 'Ο Πέτρος διὰ ζῆλον ἄδικον οὐχ ἕνα, οὐδὲ δύο, ἀλλὰ πλείονας ὑπήνεγκεν πόνους, καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης.. Διὰ ζῆλον καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ὑπέσχεν, ἑπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας, φυγαδευθεὶς, λιθασθείς. Κῆρυξ γενόμενος ἔν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει, τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν, δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν, καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων.[1] Οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός·

VI.

Τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁσὶως πολιτευσαμένοις συνηθροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν, οἵτινες πολλὰς αἰκίας καὶ βασάνους διὰ ζῆλον παθόντες, ὑπόδειγμα κάλλιστον ἐγένοντο ἐν ἡμῖν. Διὰ ζῆλος διωχθεῖσαι γυναῖκες, Δαναΐδες καὶ Δίρκαι,[2] αἰκισματα δεινὰ καὶ ἀνόσια παθοῦσαι, ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πίστεως βέβαιον δρόμον κατήντησαν, καὶ ἔλαβον γέρας γενναῖον αἱ ἀσθενεῖς τῷ σώματι. Ζῆλος ἀπηλλοτρίωσεν γαμετὰς ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἠλλοίωσεν τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν 'Αδάμ· „τοῦτο νῦν ὀστοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου, καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς μου.“ Ζῆλος καὶ ἔρις πόλεις μεγάλας κατέστρεψεν, καὶ ἔθνη μεγάλα ἐξεῤῥίζωσεν.

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[1] Probably Tigellinus and others, who exercised the government in the end of Nero's reign, or in his absence.

[2] Δανάη τε και Δίρκε (Coteler. &c.)—supposed female martyrs.

VII.

Ταῦτα, ἀγαπητοὶ, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς νουθετοῦντες ἐπιστέλλομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὑπομιμνήσκοντες· ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐσμεν σκάμματι, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἀγὼν ἐπίκειται· Διὸ ἀπολείπωμεν τὰς κενὰς καὶ ματαίας φροντίδας, καὶ ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐκλεῆ καὶ σεμνὸν τῆς ἁγίας κλήσεως ἡμῶν κανόνα. Βλέπωμεν, τί καλὸν, καὶ τί τερπνὸν καὶ προσδεκτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἡμᾶς. Ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἴδωμεν, ὡς ἔστιν τίμιον τῷ Θεῷ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὅ τι διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκχυθὲν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ μετανοίας χάριν ὑπήνεγκεν. Ἀνέλθωμεν εἰς τὰς γενεὰς πάσας, καὶ καταμάθωμεν, ὅτι ἐν γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ μετανοίας τόπον ἔδωκεν ὁ δεσπότης τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπισραφῆναι ἐπ' αὐτόν. Νῶε ἐκήρυξεν μετάνοιαν, καὶ οἱ ὑπακούσαντες ἐσώθησαν. Ἰωνᾶς Νινευΐταις καταστροφὴν ἐκήρυξεν· οἱ δὲ μετανοήσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν ἐξιλάσαντο τὸν Θεὸν ἱκετεύσαντες, καὶ ἔλαβον σωτηρίαν, καίπερ ἀλλότριοι τοῦ Θεοῦ ὄντες.

XIII.

Ταπεινοφρονήσωμεν οὖν, ἀδελφοὶ, ἀποθέμενοι πᾶσαν ἀλαζονείαν καὶ τύφος[1] καὶ ἀφροσύνην καὶ ὀργάς· καὶ ποιήσωμεν τὸ γεγραμμένον· λέγει γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· "μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τη σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ, μηδὲ ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ἐν τῇ ἰσχύϊ αὐτοῦ, μηδὲ ὁ πλούσιος ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ καυχάσθω, τοῦ ἐκζητεῖν αὐτὸν, καὶ ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην" μάλιστα μεμνημένοι τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, οὓς ἐλάλησεν διδάσκων ἐπιείκειαν καὶ μακροθυμίαν. Οὕτως γάρ εἶπεν· "ἐλεεῖτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε· ἀφίετε, ἵνα ἀφεθῇ ὑμῖν· ὡς ποιεῖτε, οὕτω ποιηθήσεται ὑμῖν ὡς· δίδοτε, οὕτως δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὡς κρίνετε, οὕτως κριθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὡς χρηστεύεσθε, οὕτως χρηστευθήσεται ὑμῖν· ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἐν αὐτῷ μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν." Ταύτῃ τῇ ἐντολῇ καὶ τοῖς παραγγέλμασι τούτοις στερίξωμεν ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς τὸ πορεύεσθαι

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[1] Taken as a neuter, like ζῆλος (sect. 4.)

ὑπηκόους ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἁγιοπρεπέσι λόγοις αὐτου, ταπεινοφρονοῦντες.[1] Φησὶν γὰρ ὁ ἅγιος λόγος· "ἐπὶ τίνα ἐπιβλέψω,[2] ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν πραΰν καὶ ἡσύχιον καὶ τρέμοντά μου τὰ λόγια;"

XIV.

Δίκαιον οὖν καὶ ὅσιον, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ, ὑπηκόους ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον γενέσθαι τῷ Θεῷ, ἢ τοῖς ἐν ἀλαζονείᾳ καὶ ἀκαταστασίᾳ μυσαροῦ ζήλους ἀρχηγοῖς ἐξακολουθεῖν. Βλάβην γὰρ οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν, μᾶλλον δὲ κίνδυνον ὑποίσομεν μέγαν, ἐὰν ῥιψοκινδύνως ἐπιδῶμεν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς θελήμασιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἵτινες ἐξακοντίζουσιν εἰς ἔριν καὶ στάσεις, εἰς τὸ ἀπαλλοτριῶσαι ἡμᾶς τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος. Χρηστευσώμεθα αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν καὶ γλυκύτητα τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἡμᾶς. Γέγραπται γάρ· "χρηστοὶ ἔσονται οἰκήτορες γῆς, ἄκακοι δὲ ὑπολειφθήσονται ἐπ' αὐτῆς· οἱ δὲ παρανομοῦντες ἐξολεθρευθήσονται ἀπ' αὐτῆς." Καὶ πάλιν λέγει. "εἶδον ἀσεβῆ ὑπερυψούμενον καὶ ἐπαιρόμενον ὡς τὰς κέδρους τοῦ Λιβάνου. καὶ παρῆλθον, καὶ ἰδοὺ, οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ἐξεζήτησα τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐχ εὗρον. Φύλασσε ἀκακίαν, καὶ ἴδε εὐθύτητα, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐγκατάλειμμα ἀνθρώπῳ εἰρηνικῷ."[3]

XVI.

Ταπεινοφρονούντων γάρ ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς, οὐκ ἐπαιρομένων ἐπὶ τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ· Τὸ σκῆπτρον τῆς μεγαλωσύνης τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐν κόμπῳ ἀλαζονείας, οὐδὲ ὑπερηφανίας, καίπερ δυνάμενος. ἀλλὰ ταπεινοφρονῶν, καθὼς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλάλησεν. Φησὶ γάρ· „κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν; καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη; Ἀνηγγείλαμεν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ· ὡς παιδίον, ὡς ῥίζα ἐν γῇ διψώσῃ, οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδος αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ δόξα· καὶ εἴδομεν αὐτὸν, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος, οὐδὲ κάλλος, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον, ἐκλεῖπον παρὰ τὸ εἶδος τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἄνθρωπος ἐν πληγῇ ὢν καὶ πόνῳ, καὶ εἰδὼς φέρειν

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[1] ταπεινοφρονοῦντες (var. reading ταπεινοφρονοῦντας.)

[2] Is. lxvi., 2 (Sept.)

[3] Ps. xxxvii., 35-37 (Sept.)

μαλακίαν, ὅτι ἀπέστραπται τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, ἠτιμάσθη καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσθη· Οὗτος τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει, καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλογισάμεθα, αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐν πόνῳ καὶ ἐν πληγῇ καὶ ἐν κακώσει. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐτραυματίσθη διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, καὶ μεμαλάκισται διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν. Παιδεία εἰρήνης ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτόν· τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν· Πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλανήθημεν, ἄνθρωπος τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ ἐπλανήθη· καὶ κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τὸ κεκακῶσθαι οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα. Ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη, καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος ἄφωνος, οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. Ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθη. Τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται; ὅτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ. Ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἥκει εἰς θάνατον.[1] Καὶ δώσω τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀντὶ τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ἀντὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ· ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ. Καὶ κύριος βούλεται καθαρίσαι αὐτὸν τῆς πληγῆς. [2]Ἐὰν δῶτε περὶ ἁμαρτίας, ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν ὄψεται σπέρμα μακρόβιον. Καὶ κύριος βούλεται ἀφελεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, δεῖξαι αὐτῷ φῶς, καὶ πλάσαι τῇ συνέσει, δικαιῶσαι δίκαιον εὖ δουλεύοντα πολλοῖς· καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἀνοίσει. Διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς κληρονομήσει πολλοὺς, καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν μεριεῖ σκῦλα, ἀνθ' ὧν παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη· καὶ αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκεν, καὶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη." Καὶ πάλιν αὐτός φησιν· "Ἐγὼ δέ εἰμι σκώληξ, καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος· ὄνειδος ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐξουθένημα λαοῦ. Πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντές με ἐξεμυκτήρισάν με, ἐλάλησαν ἐν χείλεσιν, ἐκίνησαν κεφαλήν· ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον, ῥυσάσθω αὐτὸν, σωσάτω αὐτὸν, ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν." Ὁρᾶτε, ἄνδρες ἀγαπητοὶ, τίς ὁ ὑπογραμμὸς ὁ δεδομένος ἡμῖν· εἰ γὰρ ὁ κύριος οὕτως ἐταπεινοφρόνησεν, τί ποιήσομεν ἡμεῖς, οἱ ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντες;

[1] Isah. liii, 8, (Sept.) according to a supposed reading of the Hebrew, adopted by LOWTH, after ORIGEN and KENNICOTT, but rejected by critics generally.

[2] ἐὰν δῶτε—v. 10, (Sept.), in other copies of Sept. δῶται. JUSTIN gives it "δῶται" (be given)—the true reading—CAPELL, LOWTH, DODSON, Archbp. MAGEE (on Atonement,) &c.—Greek MSS., often interchange ε and αι

XX.

Οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῇ διοικήσει αὐτοῦ σαλευόμενοι ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὑποτάσσονται αὐτῷ· ἡμέρα τε καὶ νὺξ τὸν τεταγμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δρόμον διανύουσιν, μηδὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐμποδίζοντα. Ἥλιός τε καὶ σελήνη, ἀστέρων τε χοροὶ κατὰ τὴν διαταγὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ δίχα πάσης παρεκβάσεως ἐξελίσσουσιν τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους αὐτοῖς ὁρισμούς. Γῆ κυοφοροῦσα, κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἰδίοις καιροῖς τὴν παμπληθῆ ἀνθρώποις τε καὶ θηρσὶν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ζώοις ἀνατέλλει τροφὴν, μὴ διχοστατοῦσα, μηδὲ ἀλλοιοῦσά τι τῶν δεδογματισμένων, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Ἀβύσσων τε ἀνεξιχνίαστα καὶ νερτέρων ἀνεκδιήγητα κρίματα τοῖς αὐτοῖς συνέχεται προστάγμασιν. Τὸ κύτος τῆς ἀπείρου θαλάσσης, κατὰ τὴν δημιουργίαν αὐτοῦ συσταθὲν εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς, οὐ παρεκβαίνει τὰ περιτεθειμένα αὐτῇ κλεῖθρα, ἀλλὰ καθὼς διέταξεν αὐτῇ, οὕτως ποιεῖ. Εἶπεν γάρ "ἕως ὧδε ἥξεις, καὶ τὰ κύματά σου ἐν σοὶ συντριβήσεται." Ὠκεανὸς ἀνθρώποις ἀπέραντος, καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν κόσμοι ταῖς αὐταῖς ταγαῖς τοῦ δεσπότου διευθύνονται. * * * * * *

XXI.

Ὁρᾶτε ἀγαπητοὶ, μὴ αἱ εὐεργεσίαι αὐτοῦ αἱ πολλαὶ γένωνται εἰς κρίμα πᾶσιν ἡμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀξίως αὐτοῦ πολιτευόμενοι τὰ καλὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ποιῶμεν μεθ' ὁμονοίας. Λέγει γάρ που· "πνεῦμα κυρίου λύχνος ἐρευνῶν τὰ ταμιεῖα τῆς γαστρός." Ἴδωμεν, πῶς ἐγγύς ἐστιν, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν λέληθεν αὐτὸν τῶν ἐννοιῶν ἡμῶν, οὐδὲ τῶν διαλογισμῶν, ὧν ποιούμεθα· Δίκαιον οὖν ἐστιν, μὴ λειποτακτεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ. Μᾶλλον ἀνθρώποις ἄφροσι καὶ ἀνοήτοις καὶ ἐπαιρομένοις καὶ ἐγκαυχωμένοις ἐν ἀλαζονείᾳ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῶν προσκόψωμεν, ἢ τῷ Θεῷ. Τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, οὗ τὸ αἷμα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη, ἐντραπῶμεν, τοὺς προηγουμένους ἡμῶν αἰδεσθῶμεν, τοὺς[1] πρεσβυτέρους ἡμῶν τιμήσωμεν, τοὺς νέους παιδεύσωμεν τὴν παιδείαν τοῦ φόβου τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὰς

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[1] Elder in years, by contrast with *νέους*. So Archbp. Wake takes it. Some see three offices here—*νέους* being taken for deacons. But compare with this sect. 42.

γυναῖκας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν διορθωσώμεθα. Τὸ ἀξιαγάπητον τῆς ἁγνείας ἦθος ἐνδειξάσθωσαν, τὸ ἀκέραιον τῆς πραΰτητος αὐτῶν βούλημα ἀποδειξάτωσαν, τὸ ἐπιεικὲς τῆς γλώσσης αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς φωνῆς φανερὸν ποιησάτωσαν, τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτῶν μὴ κατὰ προσκλίσεις, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸν Θεὸν ὁσίως, ἴσην παρεχέτωσαν. Τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ παιδείας μεταλαμβανέτωσαν· μαθέτωσαν, τί ταπεινοφροσύνη παρὰ Θεῷ ἰσχύει, τί ἀγάπη ἁγνὴ παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ δύναται, πῶς ὁ φόβος αὐτοῦ καλὸς καὶ μέγας καὶ σώζων πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ ὁσίως ἀναστρεφομένους ἐν καθαρᾷ διανοίᾳ. Ἐρευνητὴς γάρ ἐστιν ἐννοιῶν καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων· οὗ ἡ πνοὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστιν, καὶ ὅταν θέλῃ, ἀνελεῖ αὐτήν.

XXXVII.

Στρατευσώμεθα οὖν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ, μετὰ πάσης ἐκτενείας ἐν τοῖς ἀμώμοις προστάγμασιν αὐτοῦ. Κατανοήσωμεν τοὺς στρατευομένους τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ἡμῶν,[1] πῶς εὐτάκτως, πῶς εὐείκτως, πῶς ὑποτεταγμένως ἐπιτελοῦσιν τὰ διατασσόμενα. Οὐ παντες εἰσὶν ἔπαρχοι, οὐδὲ χιλίαρχοι, οὐδὲ ἑκατόνταρχοι, οὐδὲ πεντηκόνταρχοι, οὐδὲ τὸ καθεξῆς· ἀλλ᾽ ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων ἐπιτελεῖ. Οἱ μεγάλοι δίχα τῶν μικρῶν οὐ δύνανται εἶναι, οὔτε οἱ μικροὶ δίχα τῶν μεγάλων· σύγκρασίς τις ἔστιν ἐν πᾶσιν, καὶ ἐν τούτοις χρῆσις. Λάβωμεν τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν. Ἡ κεφαλὴ δίχα τῶν ποδῶν οὐδέν ἐστιν, οὕτως οὐδὲ οἱ πόδες δίχα τῆς κεφαλῆς· τὰ δὲ ἐλάχιστα μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ εὔχρηστά εἰσιν ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι, Ἀλλὰ πάντα συμπνεῖ, καὶ ὑποταγῇ μιᾷ χρῆται εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι ὅλον τὸ σῶμα.

XXXVIII.

Σωζέσθω οὖν ἡμῶν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ὑποτασσέσθω ἕκαστος τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ, καθὼς καὶ ἐτέθη ἐν τῷ χαρίσματι αὐτοῦ. Ὁ ἰσχυρὸς μὴ ἀτημελείτω τὸν ἀσθενῆ, ὁ δὲ ἀσθενὴς ἐντρεπέτω τὸν ἰσχυρόν. ὁ πλούσιος ἐπιχορη-

[1] Earthly governors meant here.

γειτω τῷ πτωχῷ, ὁ δὲ πτωχὸς εὐχαριστείτω τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτι ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, δἰ οὗ ἀναπληρωθῇ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὑστέρημα. Ὁ σοφὸς ἐνδεικνύσθω τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐν λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς· ὁ ταπεινοφρονῶν μὴ ἑαυτῷ μαρτυρείτω, ἀλλ' ἐάτω ὑφ' ἑτέρου ἑαυτὸν μαρτυρεῖσθαι. * * * * * * *

XL.

Προδήλων οὖν ἡμῖν ὄντων τούτων, καὶ ἐγκεκυφότες εἰς τὰ βάθη τῆς θείας γνώσεως, πάντα τάξει ποιεῖν ὀφείλομεν, ὅσα ὁ δεσπότης ἐπιτελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν κατὰ καιροὺς τεταγμένους. Τάς τε προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκ εἰκῆ ἢ ἀτάκτως ἐκέλευσεν γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡρισμένοις καιροῖς καὶ ὥραις. Ποῦ τε καὶ διά τίνων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι θέλει, αὐτὸς ὥρισεν τῇ ὑπερτάτῃ αὐτοῦ βουλήσει, ἵν' ὁσίως πάντα τὰ γινόμενα ἐν εὐδοκήσει εὐπρόσδεκτα εἴη τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ. Οἱ οὖν τοῖς πρεστεταγμένοις καιροῖς ποιοῦντες τὰς προσφορὰς αὐτῶν, εὐπρόσδεκτοί τε και μακάριοι· τοῖς γὰρ νομίμοις τοῦ δεσπότου ἀκολουθοῦντες οὐ διαμαρτάνουσιν. Τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ ἰδίαι λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι εἰσὶν, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιος ὁ τόπος προστέτακται, καὶ λευίταις ἴδιαι διακονίαι ἐπίκεινται· ὁ λαϊκός ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται.

XLI.

Ἕκαστος ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοὶ, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι εὐχαριστείτω Θεῷ, ἐν ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει ὑπάρχων, μὴ παρεκβαίνων τὸν ὡρισμένον τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ κανόνα, ἐν σεμνότητι. Οὐ πανταχοῦ, ἀδελφοὶ, προσφέρονται θυσίαι ἐνδελεχισμοῦ, ἢ εὐχῶν, ἢ περὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ πλημμελίας, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ μόνῃ· κἀκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ προσφέρεται, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, μωμοσκοπηθὲν τὸ προσφερόμενον διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν προειρημένων λειτουργῶν. Οἱ οὖν παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον τῆς βουλήσεως αὐτοῦ ποιοῦντές τι, θάνατον τὸ πρόστιμον ἔχουσιν. Ὁρᾶτε, ἀδελφοὶ, ὅσῳ πλείονος κατηξιώθημεν γνώσεως, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὑποκείμεθα κινδύνῳ.

XLII.

Οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῖν [1] εὐηγγελίσθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἐξεπέμφθη ὁ Χριστὸς οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἐγένοντο οὖν ἀμφότερα εὐτάκτως ἐκ θελήματος Θεοῦ. Παραγγελίας οὖν λαβόντες, καὶ πληροφορηθέντες διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ πιστωθέντες ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, μετὰ πληροφορίας πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐξῆλθον εὐαγγελιζόμενοι, τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ μέλλειν ἔρχεσθαι. Κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐ καινῶς· ἐκ γὰρ δὴ πολλῶν χρόνων ἐγέγραπτο περὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ διακόνων. Οὕτως γάρ που λέγει ἡ γραφή· "καταστήσω τοὺς ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τοὺς διακόνους αὐτῶν ἐν πίστει." [2]

XLIV.

Καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς. Διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν πρόγνωσιν εἰληφότες τελείαν κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους, καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπινομὴν δεδώκασιν, ὅπως, ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. Τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων, ἢ μεταξὺ ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης, καὶ λειτουργήσαντας ἀμέμπτως τῷ ποιμνίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης, ἡσύχως καὶ ἀβαναύσως, μεμαρτυρημένους τε πολλοῖς χρόνοις ὑπὸ πάντων, τούτους οὐ δικαίως νομίζομεν ἀποβαλέσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας. Ἁμαρτία γὰρ οὐ μικρὰ ἡμῖν ἔσται, ἐὰν τοὺς ἀμέμπτως καὶ ὁσίως προσενεγκόντας τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀποβάλωμεν. Μακάριοι οἱ προοδοιπορήσαντες πρεσβύτεροι, οἵτινες ἔγκαρπον καὶ τελείαν ἔσχον τὴν ἀνάλυσιν· οὐ γὰρ

[1] Perhaps for εὐηγγελίσαντο.—WOTT.
[2] Isaiah. lx., 17 (Sept. with variations.)

εὐλαβοῦνται, μή τις αὐτοὺς μεταστήσῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱδρυμένου αὐτοῖς τόπου. Ὁρῶμεν γὰρ, ὅτι ἐνίους ὑμεῖς μεταγάγετε καλῶς πολιτευομένους ἐκ τῆς ἀμέμπτως αὐτοῖς τετιμημένης λειτουργίας.

XLVI.

Τοιούτοις οὖν ὑποδείγμασι κολληθῆναι καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ, ἀδελφοί. Γέγραπται γάρ· [1] "κολλᾶσθε τοῖς ἁγίοις, ὅτι οἱ κολλώμενοι αυτοῖς ἁγιασθήσονται." Καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ λέγει· "μετὰ ἀνδρὸς ἀθώου ἀθῶος ἔσῃ, καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκλεκτοῦ ἐκλεκτὸς ἔσῃ, καὶ μετὰ στρεβλοῦ διαστρέψεις." [2] Κολληθῶμεν οὖν τοῖς ἀθώοις καὶ δικαίοις· εἰσὶν δὲ οὗτοι ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἵνα τί ἔρεις, καὶ θυμοὶ καὶ διχοστασίαι, καὶ σχίσματα, πόλεμός τε ἐν ὑμῖν; Ἢ οὐχὶ ἕνα Θεὸν ἔχομεν καὶ ἕνα Χριστόν; καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς, καὶ μία κλῆσις ἐν Χριστῷ; Ἵνα τί διέλκομεν καὶ διασπῶμεν τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χρίστοῦ, καὶ στασιάζομεν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἴδιον, καὶ εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπόνοιαν ἐρχόμεθα, ὥστε ἐπιλαθέσθαι ἡμᾶς, ὅτι μέλη ἐσμὲν ἀλλήλων; Μνήσθητε τῶν λόγων Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν. Εἶπε γάρ. "οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ· καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθε, ἢ ἕνα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου σκανδαλίσαι· κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτῷ, περιτεθῆναι μύλον, καὶ καταποντισθῆναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἢ ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν μου σκανδαλίσαι." Τὸ σχίσμα ὑμῶν πολλοὺς διέστρεψεν, πολλοὺς εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἔβαλεν, πολλοὺς εἰς δισταγμὸν, τοὺς πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰς λύπην· καὶ ἐπίμονος ὑμῶν ἐστιν ἡ στάσις.

XLVII.

Ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου. Τί πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ [3] τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔγραψεν;

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[1] Not found in Scripture, unless Prov. xiii., 20, ad. sens.; or 1 Cor., vii., 14.

[2] Ps. xviii., 26 (Sept.)

[3] In the first or early times of the Gospel: so COTELER., WOTT., JACOBSON, WAKE; though some understand the "Gospel" as largely taken of the New Testament, corresponding to a frequent use of the word "law" among the Hebrews. There are instances of this application of the word in ORIGEN, and others of the fathers.—JUNIUS, HEINSIUS, and others, suppose that ἀρχῇ του Εὐαγγελίου, means here the beginning of the first Epistle to the Corinthians.

Ἐπ' ἀληθείας πνευματικῶς ἐπέστειλεν ὑμῖν, περὶ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Κηφᾶ τὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλω, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε προσκλισεις ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι. Ἀλλ' ἡ πρόσκλισις ἐκείνη ἧττονα ἁμαρτίαν ὑμῖν προσήνεγκεν· προσεκλίθητε γὰρ ἀποστόλοις μεμαρτυρημένοις, καὶ ἀνδρὶ δεδοκιμασμένῳ παρ' αὐτοῖς· Νυνὶ δὲ κατανοήσατε, τίνες ὑμᾶς διέστρεψαν, καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν[1] τῆς περιβοήτου φιλαδελφίας ὑμῶν ἐμείωσαν. Αἰσχρὰ, ἀγαπητοὶ, καὶ λίαν αἰσχρὰ, καὶ ἀνάξια τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀγωγῆς, ἀκούεσθαι, τὴν βεβαιοτάτην καὶ ἀρχαίαν[2] Κορινθίων ἐκκλησίαν, δι' ἓν ἢ δύο πρόσωπα,[3] στασιάζειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. Καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἀκοὴ οὐ μόνον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐχώρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἑτεροκλινεῖς ὑπάρχοντας ἀφ' ἡμῶν· ὥστε καὶ βλασφημίας ἐπιφέρεσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀφροσύνην, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ κίνδυνον ἐπεξεργάζεσθαι.

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[1] *σεμνὸν*, gravity.—WAKE translates the clause well: "And lessened the reputation of that brotherly love that was so eminent (so much spoken of) among you."

[2] The church at Corinth was not *ancient* absolutely, but comparatively; being older, or founded earlier, than that at Rome. So we find Mnason (Acts xxi., 16,) called *ἀρχαίῳ μαθητῇ* while the Apostles were yet living. Thus the defenders of the earlier date of the Epistle meet the argument for a later date, so far as founded on this word: WOTT., FREY, DODW., JACOBSON.

[3] *πρόσωπα*—persons.—The word is so used occasionally by the early ecclesiastical writers—once in N. Test., 2 Cor. ii. 10. See WETSTEIN on that passage, or SUICER or SCHLEUSNER on *πρόσωπον*.

II. IGNATIUS.

This father and martyr—of fragrant memory in the annals of the Church—belongs to the time of Trajan. His surname, "Theophorus," may have originated the tradition that Ignatius was that child which our Saviour took into his arms, and presented to the disciples as a picture of the lowliness of spirit He was inculcating. The tradition has no authentic source; and the good martyr himself explained the surname otherwise—as meaning not "Deo gestatus," but "Deum gestans"—(*θεοφόρος* not *θεόφορος*)—for when interrogated by the Emperor, who Theophorus was, he replied, "He who has Christ in his heart," (Acts of Ignatius). According to Irenæus, he had been a companion and disciple of the Apostle John. He is believed to have been thrown to the wild beasts and the flames in the amphitheatre at Rome in the year 107; having been sent thither from Antioch, under a guard of soldiers, though not unaccompanied by attached friends. The Emperor Trajan had visited Antioch in regal pomp; and being determined to take rigorous account of the new religion, he had Ignatius brought before him. With great composure he made his confession of faith, and, anxious only for the safety of his flock, seemed indifferent to personal suffering. The holy man proving pertinacious after torture, Trajan adjudged him to a cruel death. It was while resting at intervals, in course of his jonrney to Rome, that he wrote the letters generally attributed to him. The Epistle from which we have taken the largest extract abounds with expressions of intense love to Christ, and of enthusiastic desire for martyrdom. As mentioned in our general preface, this Epistle is free from those extravagant laudations of the Hierarchy which have brought suspicion on the letters as a whole. The one to the Romans bears good evidences of authenticity, and has survived Cureton's as well as Usher's eliminating and curtailing processes.

ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ.

Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ ἠλεημένῃ ἐν μεγαλειότητι πατρὸς ὑψίστου καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μόνου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἠγαπημένῃ καὶ πεφωτισμένῃ ἐν θελήματι τοῦ θελήσαντος τὰ πάντα, ἅ ἐστιν κατὰ ἀγάπην Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ἥτις καὶ προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ [1] χωρίου Ῥωμαίων, ἀξιόθεος, ἀξιοπρεπὴς, ἀξιομακάριστος, ἀξιέπαινος, ἀξιεπίτευκτος, ἀξίαγνος καὶ προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης, χριστώνυμος,[2] πατρώνυμος, ἣν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, υἱοῦ πατρός. κατὰ σάρκα καὶ πνεῦμα ἡνωμένοις πάσῃ ἐντολῇ αὐτοῦ, πεπληρωμένοις χάριτος Θεοῦ ἀδιακρίτως, καὶ ἀποδιυλισμένοις ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀλλοτρίου χρώματος, πλεῖστα ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν, ἀμώμως χαίρειν.

I.

Ἐπευξάμενος Θεῷ ἐπέτυχον ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὰ ἀξιόθεα πρόσωπα, ὡς καὶ πλέον ᾐτούμην λαβεῖν· δεδεμένος γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐλπίζω ὑμᾶς ἀσπάσασθαι, ἐάν περ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ ᾖ τοῦ ἀξιωθῆναί με εἰς τέλος εἶναι. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴ εὐοικονόμητός ἐστιν, ἐάν περ χάριτος ἐπιτύχω, εἰς τὸ τὸν κλῆρόν μου ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαβεῖν. Φοβοῦμαι γὰρ τὴν ὑμῶν ἀγάπην, μὴ αὐτή με ἀδικήσῃ. Ὑμῖν γὰρ εὐχερές ἐστιν, ὃ θέλετε ποιῆσαι· ἐμοὶ δὲ δύσκολόν ἐστι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἐάνπερ ὑμεῖς φείσησθέ μου.

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[1] Vossius prefers the reading, ἐν τοπῳ χοροῦ, with the ancient Latin interpretation; "in loco chori Romanorum." "Quis non videt (Vossius says) lectionem hanc tam perspicuam esse quam obscura et barbara sit altera? Choris etiam alibi comparat cœtus christianorum." Ittigius, Pearson, Wake, Hefele, prefer τόπῳ χωρίου, as in the text—"In the place of the region of the Romans."—Wake.

[2] χριστόνομος (vet. int. and Syriac) which Vossius calls "verissima lectio," as if "Christi habens legem." The present reading is favoured by Jacobson, and by context—πατρώνυμος.

II.

Οὐ γὰρ θέλω ὑμῖν ἀνθρωπαρεσκῆσαι, ἀλλὰ Θεῷ ἀρέσαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀρέσκετε. Οὐ γὰρ ἐγώ ποτε ἕξω καιρὸν τοιοῦτον Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν, οὔτε ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν σιωπήσητε, κρείττονι ἔργῳ ἔχετε ἐπιγραφῆναι. Ἐὰν γὰρ σιωπήσητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ γενήσομαι Θεοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ ἐρασθῆτε τῆς σαρκός μου, πάλιν ἔσομαι [1] τρέχων. Πλέον μοι μὴ παράσχησθε τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι Θεῷ, ὡς ἔτι θυσιαστήριον ἕτοιμόν ἐστιν· ἵνα, ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὸς γενόμενοι, ᾄσητε τῷ Πατρὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας ὁ Θεὸς κατηξίωσεν εὑρεθῆναι εἰς δύσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς μεταπεμψάμενος. Καλὸν τὸ δῦναι ἀπὸ κόσμου πρὸς Θεὸν, ἵνα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνατείλω.

III.

Οὐδέποτε ἐβασκάνατε οὐδένα· ἄλλους ἐδιδάξατε. Ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω, ἵνα κἀκεῖνα βέβαια ᾖ, ἃ μαθητεύοντες ἐντέλλεσθε. Μόνον μοι δύναμιν αἰτεῖσθε ἔσωθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω, ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω, ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγωμαι χριστιανὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὑρεθῶ· Ἐὰν γὰρ καὶ εὑρεθῶ, καὶ λέγεσθαι δύναμαι, καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι, ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι· Οὐδὲν φαινόμενον [2] αἰώνιον. "Τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα πρόσκαιρα· τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια." Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ἐν Πατρὶ ὢν, μᾶλλον φαίνεται. Οὐ σιωπῆς μόνον τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστιανισμός.

IV.

Ἐγὼ γράφω ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἑκὼν ὑπὲρ Θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω, ἐάνπερ ὑμεῖς μὴ κωλύσητε. Παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, μὴ εὔνοια ἄκαιρος γένησθέ μοι. Ἄφετέ με θηρίων εἶναι βορὰν, δι' ὧν ἔνεστιν Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν. Σῖτός εἰμι Θεοῦ, καὶ δι' ὀδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθωμαι, ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος εὑρεθῶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Μᾶλλον κολακεύσατε τὰ θηρία, ἵνα μοι τάφος γένωνται, καὶ μηδὲν καταλίπωσι τοῦ σώματός μου, ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθεὶς βαρύς τινι γένωμαι. Τότε ἔσομαι

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[1] Syrus et vetus interpr. lat. legerunt ἔσομαι ἠχὼ, *factus sum vox*, ut interpres reddit......Multo preferenda est lectio græci textus. Sensus est; *denuo mihi erit currendum in hoc stadio vitæ, cujus metam pene attigi.*—Hefele.

[2] Note—Syr. and old Lat. read ἀγαθὸν.

μαθητὴς ἀληθῶς του Χριστοῦ, ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὄψεται. Λιτανεύσατε τὸν Χριστὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων θυσία εὑρεθῶ. Οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν. Ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατάκριτος· ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι, ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δοῦλος. Ἀλλ' ἐὰν πάθω, ἀπελεύθερος Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἀναστήσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος. Νῦν μανθάνω δεδεμένος μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν κοσμικὸν ἢ μάταιον.

V.

Ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ, διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, δεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις,[1] *ὅ ἐστι στρατιωτῶν τάγμα, οἳ καὶ εὐεργετούμενοι χείρους γίνονται.*[2] *Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι, " ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι." Ὀναίμην τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων, καὶ εὔχομαι ἕτοιμά μοι εὑρεθῆναι· ἃ καὶ κολακεύσω, συντόμως με καταφαγεῖν, οὐχ ὥσπερ τινῶν δειλαινόμενα οὐχ ἥψαντο. Κἂν αὐτὰ δὲ ἄκοντα μὴ θελήσῃ, ἐγὼ προσβιάσομαι. Συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε· τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω. Νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητὴς ειναι. Μηδέν με ζηλώσῃ τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων, ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω. Πῦρ καὶ σταυρὸς, θηρὶων τε συστάσεις, ἀνατομαὶ, διαιρέσεις, σκορπισμοὶ ὀστέων, συγκοπὴ μελῶν, ἀλησμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, κακαὶ κολάσεις τοῦ διαβόλου ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθωσαν, μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.*

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VII.

Ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλόϋλον.[3] *ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί, ἔσωθέν μοι λέγον· δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. Οὐχ ἥδομαι τροφῇ φθορᾶς, οὐδὲ ἡδοναῖς τοῦ βίου τούτου. Ἄρτον Θεοῦ θέλω, ἄρτον οὐράνιον, ἄρτον ζωῆς, ὅς ἐστιν σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τȢ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου ἐν ὑστέρῳ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ καὶ Ἀβραάμ· καὶ πόμα Θεοῦ θέλω, τὸ αἷμα αὐτου, ὅ ἐστιν ἀγάπη ἄφθαρτος, καὶ ἀέννaος ζωή.*

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[1] λεοπάρδοις—meaning the soldiers—his rough guards.

[2] Kindness was thrown away upon them—"Fortasse milites isti a christianis dona acceperunt, ut mansuetiores erga Ignatium essent."—HEFELE.

[3] That loves or feeds on material things (ὕλη.) Another reading is πῦρ φιλουν τί. His earthly affections were crucified. Some suppose Christ meant objectively.

[1] ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΟΙΣ.

Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἠγαπημένῃ Θεῷ, πατρὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐκκλησίᾳ ἁγίᾳ, τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Τράλλεσιν τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐκλεκτῇ καί ἀξιοθέῳ, εἰρηνευούσῃ ἐν σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι καὶ τῷ πάθει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναστάσει· ἣν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν τῷ πληρώματι, ἐν ἀποστολικῷ χαρακτῆρι, καὶ εὔχομαι πλεῖστα χαίρειν.

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II.

Ὅταν γὰρ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε ὡς Ἰησοῦ [2] Χριστῷ, φαίνεσθέ μοι οὐ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ζῶντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀποθανόντα, ἵνα πιστεύσαντες εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ, τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ἐκφύγητε. Ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ποιεῖτε, ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράσσειν ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθαι καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, ἐν ᾧ διάγοντες εὑρεθησόμεθα. Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους, ὄντας [3] μυστηρίων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κατὰ πάντα τρόπον πᾶσιν ἀρέσκειν. Οὐ γὰρ βρωμάτων καὶ ποτῶν εἰσιν διάκονοι, ἀλλ' ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ὑπηρέται. Δέον οὖν αὐτοὺς φυλάσσεσθαι τὰ ἐγκλήματα ὡς πῦρ.

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[1] This Epistle to the Church of Tralles is not extant in the Syriac version, edited by Cureton.

[2] It is worthy of notice, that in Ignatius' Epistles, the Bishop is always represented as Christ's representative; the Presbyters as the representatives of the Apostles; whereas, according to the view which soon after prevailed in the Church, the Bishops are the successors and representatives of the Apostles. The Ignatian apprehension of this relation appears to have had its origin in Jerusalem, where James, the brother of Jesus, might be reckoned the representative of the latter; and, in like manner, the other relatives of Jesus who were subsequently chosen presidents by the churches in Palestine.—Gieseler's Ecc. Hist. I.

[3] Some read *μυστήριον*. The ancient Latin interpetation reads as in our text, "ministros existentes mysteriorum, Jes. Ch.:" Vossius explains this, "ministros mysteriorum Dei, seu sacramentorum." Hefele supposes the allusion to be to 1 Tim., iii., 9, and 1 Cor., iv., 1.

ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΥΣΙΝ.

Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἠλεημένῃ καὶ ἡδρασμένῃ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀγαλλιωμένῃ ἐν τῷ πάθει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἀδιακρίτως, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει αὐτοῦ πεπληροφορημένῃ ἐν παντὶ ἐλέει· ἣν ἀσπάζομαι ἐν αἵματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἥτις ἐστὶν χαρὰ αἰώνιος καὶ παράμονος, μάλιστα ἐὰν ἐν ἑνὶ ὦσιν σὺν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις, ἀποδεδειγμένοις ἐν γνώμῃ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὓς κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον θέλημα ἐστήριξεν ἐν βεβαιωσύνῃ, τῷ Ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ Πνεύματι.

II.

Τέκνα οὖν φωτός καὶ ἀληθείας, φεύγετε τὸν μερισμὸν καὶ τὰς κακοδιδασκαλίας· ὅπου δὲ ὁ ποιμήν ἐστιν, ἐκεῖ ὡς πρόβατα ἀκολουθεῖτε. Πολλοὶ γὰρ λύκοι ἀξιόπιστοι ἡδονῇ κακῇ αἰχμαλωτίζουσι τοὺς θεοδρόμους· ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἑνότητι ὑμῶν οὐχ ἕξουσιν τόπον.

III.

Ἀπέχεσθε τῶν κακῶν βοτανῶν, ἅστινας οὐ γεωργεῖ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὰς φυτείαν πατρός. Οὐχ ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν μερισμὸν εὗρον, ἀλλ' ἀποδιϋλισμόν.[1] Ὅσοι γὰρ Θεοῦ εἰσιν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ [2]ἐπισκόπου εἰσίν· καὶ ὅσοι ἂν μετανοήσαντες ἔλθωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ οὗτοι Θεοῦ ἔσονται, ἵνα ὦσιν κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ζῶντες. Μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου· εἴ τις σχίζοντι ἀκολουθεῖ, βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομεῖ· εἴ τις ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γνώμῃ περιπατεῖ, οὗτος τῷ πάθει οὐ συγκατατίθεται.

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[1] A compound of ὑλίζω; defæco, purgo.

[2] It has been satisfactorily ascertained that the extravagant passages of Ignatius on the Episcopate, which have hitherto presented to impartial readers the appearance of an awkward anacronism, were really interpolations.—GAUSSEN on Canon, p. 256.

Ignatius recommends submission to the Episcopal authority as something new. He represents the first Presbyters of the churches as Bishops, and wishes to induce them to appropriate the idea of the episcopate.—GIESELER.

IV.

Σπουδάζετε οὖν μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι· μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἓν ποτήριον εἰς ἕνωσιν[1] τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, ἓν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς εἷς ἐπίσκοπος, ἅμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ διακόνοις, τοῖς συνδούλοις μου· ἵνα, ὃ ἐὰν πράσσητε, κατὰ Θεὸν πράσσητε.

V.

Ἀδελφοί μου, λίαν ἐκκέχυμαι ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὑπεραγαλλόμενος ἀσφαλίζομαι ὑμᾶς· οὐκ ἐγὼ δὲ, ἀλλ' Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ἐν ᾧ δεδεμένος φοβοῦμαι μᾶλλον, ὡς ἔτι ὢν ἀναπάρτιστος.[2] Ἀλλ' ἡ προσευχὴ ὑμῶν εἰς Θεόν με ἀπαρτίσει, ἵνα, ἐν ᾧ κλήρῳ ἠλεήθην, ἐπιτύχω, προσφυγὼν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας. Καὶ τοὺς προφήτας δὲ ἀγαπῶμεν, διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κατηγγελκέναι, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλπίζειν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀναμένειν· ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐσώθησαν, ἐν ἑνότητι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὄντες ἀξιαγαπητοὶ καὶ ἀξιοθαύμαστοι ἅγιοι, ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεμαρτυρημένοι, καὶ συνηριθμημένοι ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλπίδος.

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[1] No idea as yet of withholding the cup from the laity.

[2] A compound of ἀρτιζώ, meaning not yet perfected; but only on the way to suffering.—WAKE. Another reading is ἀνάρπαστος, a compound of ἁρπάζω.

III. POLYCARP.

This distinguished martyr suffered under one of the Antonines—in the year 147 according to some, or 166 according to others. The persecution in the time of M. Aurelius raged with great violence in Asia minor. Polycarp had long and with much dignity presided as pastor of the Church at Smyrna; having been ordained to that charge, (so Irenæus tells us) by one of the Apostles. He had been a disciple of John. It was the opinion of Usher that Polycarp was "the angel of the Church at Smyrna," addressed in the Apocalypse. He was venerated over all Asia as the father of the Christians. The affecting story of his martyrdom is told minutely in a letter written by the Church at Smyrna, addressed to the Church at Philadelphia, and preserved by Eusebius. That document appears to have been a circular sent by request to the sister Churches for their information, and was so prized by them as to have been read for instruction in many of their public assemblies. Scaliger and Lord Hailes have lauded it as among the most precious monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity. The Epistle of Polycarp himself to the Church at Philippi, though spoken of by Mosheim as not unanimously held authentic, has been very generally and cordially accepted as such. Irenæus styles it "epistola perfectissima," and Jerome relates that it was read in the Churches of Asia down to his time. Pearson, Usher, Cave, and many more have held its authority to be beyond question. One of the latest testimonies to it is given by Gaussen (on the Canon) in these strong terms: "This admirable monument is at once of an antiquity so near the Apostles, of an authenticity so perfectly attested, and so abundantly rich in its quotations of Scripture, that itself alone would furnish satisfactory evidence of the universal use of the canon in the first years of the second century. The whole epistle, from one end to the other, reveals a piety which is immersed in the Sacred Word, and thinks in apostolic language."

ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΥ

ΠΡΟΣ

ΦΙΛΙΠΠΗΣΙΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

Πολύκαρπος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι[1] *τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ* [1]*τῇ παροικούσῃ Φιλίππους· ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη παρὰ Θεοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πληθυνθείη.*

I.

Συνεχάρην ὑμῖν μεγάλως ἐν κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, δεξαμένοις τὰ μιμήματα τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης, καὶ προπέμψασιν, ὡς ἐπέβαλεν ὑμῖν, τοὺς ἐνειλημμένους τοῖς ἁγιοπρεπέσι δεσμοῖς, ἅτινά ἐστι διαδήματα τῶν ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐκλελεγμένων· καὶ ὅτι ἡ βεβαία τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν ῥίζα, ἐξ ἀρχαίων καταγγελομένη χρόνων, μέχρι νῦν διαμένει, καὶ καρποφορεῖ εἰς τον κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, ὃς ὑπέμεινεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἕως θανάτου καταντῆσαι, "ὃν ἤγειρεν ὁ Θεὸς, λύσας τας ὠδῖνας τοῦ ᾅδου." "Εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες πιστεύετε, πιστεύοντες δὲ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ·" εἰς ἣν πολλοὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν εἰσελθεῖν, εἰδότες, ὅτι "χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων," ἀλλὰ θελήματι Θεοῦ, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

II.

"Διὸ ἀναζωσάμενοι τὰς ὀσφύας ὑμῶν" "δουλεύσατε τῷ Θεῷ ἐν φόβῳ" καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, ἀπολιπόντες τὴν κενὴν ματαιο-

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[1] Of the seven Epistles received by many as those of Ignatius, one is addressed to Polycarp—though that letter is not only ignored in the Syriac version, but is rejected as spurious by Usher, who accepts the six. In that Epistle he addresses Polycarp as *ἐπίσκοπον*, different from the *πρεσβυτέροις*, and exhorts him to the exercise of his episcopal rights and duties; whereas Polycarp in this Epistle designates himself merely as the principal Presbyter. "Ignatius, through the instrumentality of his Epistles, recommended episcopacy universally as a condition of unity, and that too in the most urgent terms; and thus the first Presbyters soon generally moved up to the higher step as *ἐπίσκοποι*, although they retained besides, for a long time, the title *πρεσβύτεροι*."—Gieseler, I., 107.

λογίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πλάνην, "πιστεύσαντες εἰς τὸν ἐγείραντα τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ δόντα αὐτῷ δόξαν" καὶ θρόνον ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ· ᾧ ὑπετάγη τὰ πάντα ἐπουράνια καὶ ἐπίγεια· ᾧ πᾶσα πνοὴ[1] λατρεύει· ὃς ἔρχεται[2] κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν· οὗ τὸ αἷμα ἐκζητήσει ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπειθούντων αὐτῷ. Ὁ δὲ ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐγερεῖ, ἐὰν ποιῶμεν αὐτοῦ τὸ θέλημα, καὶ πορευώμεθα ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν ἃ ἠγάπησεν, ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης ἀδικίας, πλεονεξίας, φιλαργυρίας, καταλαλιᾶς, ψευδομαρτυρίας· "μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ, ἢ λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας," ἢ γρόνθον ἀντὶ γρόνθου,[3] ἢ κατάραν ἀντὶ κατάρας· μνημονεύοντες δὲ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος διδάσκων· μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε· ἀφίετε, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν· ἐλεεῖτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε· ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν" καὶ, ὅτι "μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ, καὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ."

III.

Ταῦτα, ἀδελφοὶ, οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ ἐπιτρέψας γράφω ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς προεπεκαλέσασθέ με. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ, οὔτε ἄλλος ὅμοιος ἐμοὶ δύναται κατακολουθῆσαι τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἐνδόξου Παύλου· ὃς γενόμενος ἐν ὑμῖν, κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐδίδαξεν ἀκριβῶς καὶ βεβαίως τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον· ὃς καὶ ἀπὼν ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὰς,[4] εἰς ἃς ἐὰν ἐγκύπτητε, δυνηθήσεσθε οἰκοδομεῖσθαι εἰς τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑμῖν πίστιν, "ἥτις ἐστὶ μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν." ἐπακολουθούσης τῆς ἐλπίδος, προαγούσης

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[1] πνοὴ, spirit, or what has breath—used in this sense in Sept., Ps. cl., 6.

[2] ἔρχεται, in the sense of ἐλεύσεται—see like use of present for future in New Testament—John xvi., 28; Rev. i., 7, &c.

[3] Rarely used in classic Greek—same as πυγμή.

[4] Plural for singular: "Epistolas de *una* epistola dici monet Cotelerius, et plura exempla affert. Consentit ei De Wette."—Hefele.

τῆς ἀγάπης, τῆς εἰς Θεὸν καὶ Χριστὸν, καὶ εἰς τὸν πλησίον. Ἐὰν γάρ τις τούτων ἐντὸς ᾖ, πεπλήρωκεν ἐντολὴν δικαιοσύνης· ὁ γὰρ ἔχων ἀγάπην μακράν ἐστι πάσης ἁμαρτίας.[1]

V.

Εἰδότες οὖν, ὅτι "Θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται," ὀφείλομεν ἀξίως τῆς ἐντολῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ δόξης περιπατεῖν. Ὁμοίως διάκονοι ἄμεμπτοι κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ὡς Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διάκονοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων· μὴ διάβολοι, μὴ δίλογοι, ἀφιλάργυροι, ἐγκρατεῖς περὶ πάντα, εὔσπλαγχνοι, ἐπιμελεῖς, πορευόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ κυρίου, ὃς ἐγένετο διάκονος πάντων· ᾧ ἐὰν εὐαρεστήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, ἀποληψόμεθα καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα, καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγεῖραι ἡμᾶς ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἐὰν πολιτευσώμεθα ἀξίως αὐτοῦ, "καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν" αὐτῷ, εἴγε πιστεύομεν. Ὁμοίως καὶ νεώτεροι ἄμεμπτοι ἐν πᾶσι, πρὸ παντὸς προνοοῦντες ἁγνείας, καὶ χαλιναγωγοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ. Καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀνακόπτεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι πᾶσα "ἐπιθυμία κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος στρατεύεται·" καὶ "οὔτε πόρνοι, οὔτε μαλακοὶ, οὔτε ἀρσενοκοῖται βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσιν," οὔτε οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ ἄτοπα. Διὸ δέον ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων, ὑποτασσομένους τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις, ὡς Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ· τὰς παρθένους ἐν ἀμώμῳ καὶ ἁγνῇ συνειδήσει περιπατεῖν.

VI.

Καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ εὔσπλαγχνοι, εἰς πάντας ἐλεήμονες, ἐπιστρέφοντες[2] *τὰ ἀποπεπλανημένα, ἐπισκεπτόμενοι πάντας ἀσθενεῖς, μὴ ἀμελοῦντες χήρας, ἢ ὀρφανοῦ, ἢ πένητος· ἀλλὰ*

[1] Probably a loose quotation of, or reference to, 1 Pet., iv., 8. Dr. DAVIDSON (Treatise on Biblical Criticism) remarks, not without reason, that the early fathers, generally, seldom use literal citations. "Though phrases and expressions occur in them which coincide with the language of the New Testament, they are merely reminiscences of the latter." From this cause, of course, they can less assist in nice questions as to the state of the text in their day: though still they do assist—sometimes citing long passages, in general agreement with our present reading. Their veneration for the spirit above the words, may have had to do with their apparent habit of contenting themselves with quoting from memory.

[2] *i.e.*, "*τοὺς ἀποπεπλανημένους*, nisi forte *πρόβατα* intelligatur."—JUNIUS.

"προνοοῦντες ἀεὶ τοῦ καλοῦ ἐνώπιον Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων,"[1] ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης ὀργῆς, προσωποληψίας, κρίσεως ἀδίκου· μακρὰν ὄντες πάσης φιλαργυρίας. μὴ ταχέως πιστεύοντες κατά τινος· μὴ ἀπότομοι ἐν κρίσει, εἰδότες ὅτι πάντες ὀφειλέται ἐσμὲν ἁμαρτίας. Εἰ οὖν δεόμεθα τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα ἡμῖν ἀφῇ, ὀφείλομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφιέναι· ἀπέναντι γὰρ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἐσμεν ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ "πάντας δεῖ παραστῆναι τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἕκαστον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δοῦναι." Οὕτως οὖν δουλεύσωμεν αὐτῷ μετὰ φόβου καὶ πάσης εὐλαβείας, καθὼς αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο, καὶ οἱ εὐαγγελισάμενοι ἡμῖν[2] ἀπόστολοι, καὶ οἱ προφῆται, οἱ προκηρύξαντες τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν· ζηλωταὶ περὶ τὸ καλὸν, ἀπεχόμενοι τῶν σκανδάλων καὶ τῶν ψευδαδέλφων καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑποκρίσει φερόντων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου, οἵτινες ἀποπλανῶσι κενοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

VII.

"Πᾶς γὰρ, ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ, Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστι·" καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστί· καὶ ὃς ἂν μεθοδεύῃ τὰ λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ λέγῃ, μήτε ἀνάστασιν μήτε κρίσιν εἶναι, οὗτος πρωτότοκός ἐστι τοῦ Σατανᾶ.[3] Διὸ ἀπολείποντες τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τὰς ψευδοδιδασκαλίας, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν παραδοθέντα λόγον ἐπιστρέψωμεν, "νήφοντες πρὸς τὰς εὐχὰς," καὶ προσκαρτεροῦντες νηστείαις, δεήσεσιν αἰτούμενοι τὸν παντεπόπτην Θεὸν, μὴ εἰσενεγκεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· "τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής."

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[1] Prov. iii., 4; (Sept.) or Rom., xii., 17, *προνοούμενοι καλά*. The verb is used with the gen. in Josephus' Antiq., IX., i. where *προν.* is for *πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι*,—BLOOMFIELD.

[2] Some read *ἡμᾶς*.

[3] Eusebius, from Irenæus, relates that Polycarp so addressed Marcion, when the latter, meeting him, desired his brotherly recognition:—"Sibi etc. *ἐπιγίνωσκε ἡμᾶς*. (Agnosce nos) Agnosco te primogenitum Satanæ." "Adeò religiosè cavebant (adds Eusebius) apostoli eorumque discipuli, ne vel sermone tenus miscerentur cum ullo eorum qui veritatem adulterabant."

VIII.

Ἀδιαλείπτως οὖν προσκαρτερῶμεν τῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ ἀῤῥαβῶνι τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡμῶν, ὅς ἐστι Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, "ὃς ἀνήνεγκεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, "ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ·" ἀλλὰ δἰ ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ζήσωμεν ἐν αὐτῷ, πάντα ὑπέμεινε. Μιμηταὶ οὖν γενώμεθα τῆς ὑπομονῆς αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐὰν πάσχωμεν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, δοξάζωμεν αὐτὸν. Τοῦτον γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν ἔθηκε δἰ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦτο ἐπιστεύσαμεν.

XIII.

Ἐγράψατέ μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ Ἰγνάτιος, ἵνα, ἐάν τις ἀπέρχηται εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἀποκομίσῃ γράμματα· ὅπερ ποιήσω, ἐὰν λάβω καιρὸν εὔθετον, εἴτε ἐγὼ, εἴτε ὃν πέμψω πρεσβεύσοντα καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν. Τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ἰγνατίου[1] τὰς πεμφθείσας ἡμῖν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἄλλας, ὅσας εἴχομεν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν, ἐπέμψαμεν ὑμῖν, καθὼς ἐνετείλασθε· αἵτινες ὑποτεταγμέναι εἰσὶ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ταύτῃ· ἐξ ὧν μεγάλα ὠφεληθῆναι δυνήσεσθε. Περιέχουσι γὰρ πίστιν καὶ ὑπομονὴν καὶ πᾶσαν οἰκοδομὴν, τὴν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἀνήκουσαν.

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[1] Meaning two Epistles of Ignatius; one to Polycarp, another to the Church at Smyrna.—COTELER.

IV. THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.

This very ancient and beautiful document is anonymous. Nor is it known who Diognetus was—the party addressed—further than that he seems to have been a Pagan of distinction. Some have ascribed the work to Clement; others to Justin Martyr. Otto of Jena, in his late edition of the Epistle, has not hesitated to give it under Justin's name. Neander, Hefele, and Gaussen, think it older. From allusions in it to great contemporary persecutions, and the rapid increase of the Church, they assign it with probability to the end of Trajan's reign, or the beginning of Hadrian's. The piece is an admirable one, and it may be ranked with "the apologies." In a similar strain with Justin and Tertullian and Minucius Felix, the writer assails the idolatries of the Gentiles, and the superstition of the Jew; vindicates the morality of the Christians; and commends the Gospel to Diognetus, at once for its tendency to promote holiness and happiness. The work is interesting, like those other early documents, for the references made to our received Scriptures, and its decided recognition of some of the leading and most precious articles of our faith.

Η ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΓΝΗΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

I.

Ἐπειδὴ ὁρῶ, κράτιστε Διόγνητε, ὑπερεσπουδακότα σε τὴν θεοσέβειαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθεῖν, καὶ πάνυ σαφῶς καὶ ἐπιμελῶς πυνθανόμενον περὶ αὐτῶν, τίνι τε Θεῷ πεποιθότες, καὶ πῶς θρησκεύοντες, αὐτόν τε κόσμον ὑπερορῶσι πάντες, καὶ θανάτου καταφρονοῦσι, καὶ οὔτε τοὺς νομιζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς λογίζονται, οὔτε τὴν Ἰουδαίων δεισιδαιμονίαν φυλάσσουσι, καὶ τίνα τὴν φιλοστοργίαν ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καί τί δή ποτε καινὸν[1] τοῦτο γένος ἢ ἐπιτήδευμα εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον νῦν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον· ἀποδέχομαί γε τῆς προθυμίας σε ταύτης, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν ἡμῖν χορηγοῦντος, αἰτοῦμαι δοθῆναι, ἐμοὶ μὲν, εἰπεῖν οὕτως, ὡς μάλιστα ἂν ἀκοῦσαί σε βελτίω γενέσθαι· σοί τε, οὕτως ἀκοῦσαι, ὡς μὴ λυπηθῆναι τὸν εἰπόντα.

II.

Ἄγε δὴ, καθάρας σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προκατεχόντων σου τὴν διάνοιαν λογισμῶν, καὶ τὴν ἀπατῶσάν σε συνήθειαν ἀποσκευασάμενος, καὶ γενόμενος, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καινὸς ἄνθρωπος, ὡς ἂν καὶ λόγου καινοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡμολόγησας, ἀκροατὴς ἐσόμενος· ἴδε[2] μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ φρονήσει, τίνος ὑποστάσεως, ἢ τίνος εἴδους τυγχάνουσιν, οὓς ἐρεῖτε καὶ νομίζετε θεούς. Οὐχ ὁ μέν τις λίθος ἐστὶν, ὅμοιος τῷ πατουμένῳ; Ὁ δ' ἐστὶ χαλκὸς, οὐ κρείσσων τῶν εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν ἡμῖν κεχαλκευμένων σκευῶν· ὁ δὲ ξύλον, ἤδη καὶ σεσηπός· ὁ δὲ ἄργυρος, χρῄζων ἀνθρώπου

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[1] καινὸν.—This is thought to prove early date.

[2] ἴδε Hellenistic form for ἰδὲ.—WINER.

τοῦ φυλάξαντος,[1] ἵνα μὴ κλαπῇ· ὁ δὲ σίδηρος, ὑπὸ ἰοῦ διεφθαρμένος. ὁ δὲ ὄστρακον, οὐδὲν τοῦ κατεσκευασμενου προς τὴν ἀτιμοτάτην ὑπηρεσίαν εὐπρεπέστερον. Οὐ φθαρτῆς ὕλης ταῦτα πάντα; Οὐχ ὑπὸ σιδήρου καὶ πυρὸς κεχαλκευμένα; Οὐχ ὃ μὲν αὐτῶν λιθοξόος, ὁ δὲ χαλκεὺς, ὁ δὲ ἀργυροκόπος, ὁ δὲ κεραμεὺς ἔπλασεν; Οὐ πρὶν ἢ ταῖς τέχναις τούτων εἰς τὴν μορφὴν τούτων ἐκτυπωθῆναι, ἦν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἑκάστῳ, ἔτι καὶ νῦν, μεταμεμορφωμένον; Οὐ τὰ νῦν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὕλης ὄντα σκεύη γένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ τύχοι τῶν αὐτῶν τεχνιτῶν, ὅμοια τοιούτοις; Οὐ ταῦτα πάλιν, τὰ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν προσκυνούμενα, δύναιτ' ἂν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων σκεύη ὅμοια γενέσθαι τοῖς λοιποῖς; Οὐ κωφὰ πάντα; Οὐ τυφλά; Οὐκ ἄψυχα; Οὐκ ἀναίσθητα; Οὐκ ἀκίνητα; Οὐ πάντα σηπόμενα; Οὐ πάντα φθειρόμενα; Ταῦτα θεοὺς καλεῖτε, τούτοις δουλεύετε, τούτοις προσκυνεῖτε, τέλεον[2] δ' αὐτοῖς ἐξομοιοῦσθε, Διὰ τοῦτο μισεῖτε Χριστιανοὺς, ὅτι τούτους οὐχ ἡγοῦνται θεούς. Ὑμεῖς γὰρ, οἱ νῦν νομίζοντες καὶ οἰόμενοι, οὐ πολὺ πλέον αὐτῶν καταφρονεῖτε; Οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς χλευάζετε καὶ ὑβρίζετε, τοὺς μὲν λιθίνους καὶ ὀστρακίνους σέβοντες ἀφυλάκτως, τοὺς δὲ ἀργυρέους καὶ χρυσοῦς ἐγκλείοντες ταῖς νυξὶ, καὶ ταῖς ἡμέραις φύλακας παρακαθίσαντες, ἵνα μὴ κλαπῶσιν; Αἷς δὲ δοκεῖτε τιμαῖς προσφέρειν, εἰ μὲν αἰσθάνονται, κολάζετε μᾶλλον αὐτούς. εἰ δὲ ἀναισθητοῦσιν, ἐλέγχοντες αἵματι καὶ κνίσαις αὐτοὺς θρησκεύετε.[3] Ταῦθ' ὑμῶν τις ὑπομεινάτω. Ταῦτα, ἀνασχέσθω τις ἑαυτῷ γενέσθαι. Ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπος μὲν οὐδὲ εἷς ταύτης τῆς κολάσεως ἑκὼν ἀνέξεται (αἴσθησιν γὰρ ἔχει καὶ λογισμόν)· ὁ δὲ λίθος ἀνέχεται, ἀναισθητεῖ γάρ. Οὔκουν τὴν αἴσθησιν αὐτοῦ ἐλέγχετε. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μὴ δεδουλῶσθαι Χριστιανοὺς τοιούτοις θεοῖς, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμι· εἰ δὲ τινι μὴ δοκοίη ταῦτα ἱκανὰ, περισσὸν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τὸ πλείω λέγειν.

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[1] JUSTIN (Apol. I.) says, ἀθέμιτον καὶ τὸ νοεῖν ἢ λέγειν ἀνθρώπους θεῶν εἶναι φύλακας.

[2] Evident allusion to Psa. cxv., 8; τέλεον same as τελέως, plane; prorsus.

[3] ἐλέγχοντες—Accuratius scripsisset auctor; ἐλέγχετε — θρησκεύοντες: (i.e., hujus rei,) eos convincitis, sanguine et nidoribus eos colentes.—BOEHL. and HEFELE.

V.

Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ οὔτε γῇ, οὔτε φωνῇ, οὔτε ἔθεσι διακεκριμένοι τῶν λοιπῶν εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων. Οὔτε γάρ που πόλεις ἰδίας κατοικοῦσιν, οὔτε διαλέκτῳ τινὶ παρηλλαγμένῃ χρῶνται, οὔτε βίον παράσημον ἀσκοῦσιν, Οὐ μὴν ἐπινοίᾳ τινὶ καὶ φροντίδι πολυπραγμόνων ἀνθρώπων μάθημα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἐστιν εὑρημένον,[1] οὐδὲ δόγματος ἀνθρωπίνου προεστᾶσιν, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι. Κατοικοῦντες δὲ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας τε καὶ βαρβάρους, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐκληρώθη, καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἔθεσιν ἀκολουθοῦντες ἔν τε ἐσθῆτι καὶ διαίτῃ καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ, θαυμαστὴν καὶ ὁμολογουμένως παράδοξον ἐνδείκνυνται τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν πολιτείας. Πατρίδας οἰκοῦσιν ἰδίας, ἀλλ' ὡς πάροικοι. Μετέχουσι πάντων ὡς πολῖται· καὶ πάνθ' ὑπομένουσιν ὡς ξένοι. Πᾶσα ξένη πατρίς ἐστιν αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶσα πατρὶς ξένη, Γαμοῦσιν ὡς πάντες, τεκνογονοῦσιν· ἀλλ' οὐ ῥίπτουσι τὰ γεννώμενα. Τράπεζαν κοινὴν παρατίθενται, ἀλλ' οὐ κοίτην κοινήν. Ἐν σαρκὶ τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ σάρκα ζῶσιν. Ἐπὶ γῆς διατρίβουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν οὐρανῷ πολιτεύονται. Πείθονται τοῖς ὡρισμένοις νόμοις, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις νικῶσι τοὺς νόμους. Ἀγαπῶσι πάντας, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων διώκονται. Ἀγνοοῦνται, καὶ κατακρίνονται· θανατοῦνται, καὶ ζωοποιοῦνται· πτωχεύουσι, καὶ πλουτίζουσι πολλούς· πάντων ὑστεροῦνται, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι περισσεύουσιν· ἀτιμοῦνται, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀτιμίαις δοξάζονται· βλασφημοῦνται, καὶ δικαιοῦνται· λοιδοροῦνται, καὶ εὐλογοῦσιν· ὑβρίζονται, καὶ τιμῶσιν· ἀγαθοποιοῦντες, ὡς κακοὶ κολάζονται· κολαζόμενοι χαίρουσιν, ὡς ζωοποιούμενοι· ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ὡς ἀλλόφυλοι πολεμοῦνται, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων διώκονται· καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἔχθρας εἰπεῖν οἱ μισοῦντες οὐκ ἔχουσιν,

VII.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐπίγειον, ὡς ἔφην, εὕρημα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς παρεδόθη, οὐδὲ θνητὴν ἐπίνοιαν φυλάσσειν οὕτως ἀξιοῦσιν ἐπιμελῶς, οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνων οἰκονομίαν μυστηρίων πεπίστευνται· ἀλλ'

[1] εἰρημένον.—This reading preferred by OTTO, as if meaning nuntiatum.

αὐτὸς ἀληθῶς ὁ παντοκράτωρ καὶ παντοκτίστης καὶ ἀόρατος Θεὸς, αὐτὸς ἀπ' οὐρανῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸν Λόγον τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἀπερινόητον ἀνθρώποις ἐνίδρυσε, καὶ ἐγκατεστήριξε ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν· οὐ, καθάπερ ἄν τις εἰκάσειεν, ἀνθρώποις ὑπηρέτην τινὰ πέμψας, ἢ ἄγγελον, ἢ ἄρχοντα, ἤ τινα τῶν διεπόντων τὰ ἐπίγεια, ἤ τινα τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰς ἐν οὐρανοῖς διοικήσεις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων, ᾧ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἔκτισεν, ᾧ τὴν θάλασσαν ἰδίοις ὅροις ἐνέκλεισεν· οὗ τὰ [1] μυστήρια πιστῶς πάντα φυλάσσει τὰ στοιχεῖα· [2] παρ' οὗ τὰ μέτρα τῶν τῆς ἡμέρας δρόμων εἴληφε ὁ ἥλιος φυλάσσειν· ᾧ πειθαρχεῖ σελήνη νυκτὶ φαίνειν κελεύοντι· ᾧ πειθαρχεῖ τὰ ἄστρα, τῷ τῆς σελήνης ἀκολουθοῦντα δρόμῳ· ᾧ πάντα διατέτακται καὶ διώρισται καὶ ὑποτέτακται, οὐρανοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, θάλασσα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, πῦρ, ἀὴρ, ἄβυσσος, τὰ ἐν ὕψεσι, τὰ ἐν βάθεσι, τὰ ἐν τῷ μεταξύ. Τοῦτον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλεν. Ἆρά γε, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἄν τις λογίσαιτο, ἐπὶ τυραννίδι καὶ φόβῳ καὶ καταπλήξει; Οὐ μενοῦν· ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ, πραΰτητι. Ὡς βασιλεὺς πέμπων υἱὸν βασιλέα ἔπεμψεν· ὡς Θεὸν ἔπεμψεν, ὡς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἔπεμψεν, ὡς σώζων ἔπεμψεν, ὡς πείθων, οὐ βιαζόμενος· βία γὰρ οὐ πρόσεστι τῷ Θεῷ. Ἔπεμψεν ὡς καλῶν, οὐ διώκων· ἔπεμψεν ὡς ἀγαπῶν, οὐ κρίνων. Πέμψει γὰρ αὐτὸν κρίνοντα· καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν ὑποστήσεται; Οὐχ ὁρᾷς παραβαλλομένους θηρίοις, ἵνα ἀρνήσωνται τὸν κύριον, καὶ μὴ νικωμένους; Οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὅσῳ πλείονες κολάζονται, τοσούτῳ πλεονάζοντας ἄλλους; Ταῦτα ἀνθρώπου οὐ δοκεῖ τὰ ἔργα· ταῦτα δύναμίς ἐστι Θεοῦ· ταῦτα τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ δείγματα.

VIII.

Τίς γὰρ ὅλως ἀνθρώπων ἠπίστατο, τί ποτ' ἐστὶ Θεὸς, πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν; Ἢ τοὺς κενοὺς καὶ ληρώδεις ἐκείνων λόγους ἀποδέχῃ τῶν ἀξιοπίστων φιλοσόφων; Ὧν οἱ μέν τινες πῦρ ἔφασαν εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν, οὗ μέλλουσι χωρήσειν αὐτοὶ,

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[1] *i.e.*, Leges, quibus creator rerum naturam moderatur, quæque hominum intellectum latent.—BOEHL. [2] *στοιχεῖα*, elements or constellations.

τοῦτο καλοῦσι Θεόν· οἱ δὲ ὕδωρ· οἱ δὲ ἄλλο τι τῶν στοιχείων τῶν ἐκτισμένων ὑπὸ Θεοῦ. * * * * * * * * * *

IX.

Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦ πρόσθεν χρόνου[1] εἴασεν ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἐβουλόμεθα, ἀτάκτοις φοραῖς φέρεσθαι, ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις ἀγομένους· οὐ πάντως ἐφηδόμενος τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἀνεχόμενος· οὐδὲ τῷ τότε τῆς ἀδικίας καιρῷ συνευδοκῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν νοῦν[2] τῆς δικαιοσύνης δημιουργῶν· ἵνα ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ἐλεγχθέντες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων ἀνάξιοι ζωῆς, νῦν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χρηστότητος ἀξιωθῶμεν· καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς φανερώσαντες ἀδύνατον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνατοὶ γενηθῶμεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πεπλήρωτο μὲν ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀδικία, καὶ τελείως πεφανέρωτο, ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς αὐτῆς κόλασις καὶ θάνατος προσεδοκᾶτο, ἦλθε δὲ ὁ καιρὸς, ὃν Θεὸς προέθετο λοιπὸν φανερῶσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χρηστότητα καὶ δύναμιν, ὡς τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης φιλανθρωπίας μία ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκ ἐμίσησεν ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲ ἀπώσατο, οὐδὲ ἐμνησικάκησεν, ἀλλὰ ἐμακροθύμησεν, ἠνέσχετο, αὐτὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἁμαρτίας ἀνεδέξατο· αὐτὸς τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν ἀπέδοτο λύτρον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τὸν ἅγιον ὑπὲρ ἀνόμων, τὸν ἄκακον ὑπὲρ τῶν κακῶν, τὸν δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδίκων, τὸν ἄφθαρτον ὑπὲρ τῶν φθαρτῶν, τὸν ἀθάνατον ὑπὲρ τῶν θνητῶν. Τί γὰρ ἄλλο τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἠδυνήθη καλύψαι ἢ ἐκείνου δικαιοσύνη; Ἐν τίνι δικαιωθῆναι δυνατὸν τοὺς ἀνόμους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς, ἢ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ; Ὢ τῆς γλυκείας ἀνταλλαγῆς, ὢ τῆς ἀνεξιχνιάστου δημιουργίας, ὢ τῶν ἀπροσδοκήτων εὐεργεσιῶν· ἵνα ἀνομία μὲν πολλῶν ἐν δικαίῳ ἑνὶ κρυβῇ, δικαιοσύνη δὲ ἑνὸς πολλοὺς ἀνόμους δικαιώσῃ. Ἐλέγξας οὖν ἐν μὲν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ τὸ ἀδύνατον τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως εἰς τὸ τυχεῖν ζωῆς, νῦν δὲ τὸν σωτῆρα δείξας, δυνατὸν σώζειν καὶ τὰ ἀδύνατα, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐβουλήθη πιστεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ χρηστότητι αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τροφέα, πατέρα, διδάσκαλον, σύμβουλον, ἰατρὸν, νοῦν, φῶς, τιμὴν, δόξαν, ἰσχὺν, ζωήν· περὶ ἐνδύσεως καὶ τροφῆς μὴ μεριμνᾷν.

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[1] *i.e.*, Before the time of the Advent: see below, *εν χρόνῳ*.

[2] A better reading is *τὸν νῦν*.—OTTO.

X.

Ταύτην καὶ σὺ τὴν πίστιν ἐὰν ποθήσῃς,[1] καὶ λάβῃς πρῶτον μὲν ἐπίγνωσιν πατρός. Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠγάπησε, δι' οὓς ἐποίησε τὸν κόσμον, οἷς ὑπέταξε πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, οἷς λόγον[2] ἔδωκεν, οἷς νοῦν, οἷς μόνοις ἄνω πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁρᾷν ἐπέτρεψεν, οὓς ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας εἰκόνος ἔπλασε, πρὸς οὓς ἀπέστειλε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, οἷς τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλείαν ἐπηγγείλατο, καὶ δώσει τοῖς ἀγαπήσασιν αὐτόν. Ἐπιγνοὺς[3] δὲ, τίνος οἴει πληρωθήσεσθαι χαρᾶς; Ἢ πῶς ἀγαπήσεις τὸν οὕτως προαγαπήσαντά σε; Ἀγαπήσας δὲ, μιμητὴς ἔσῃ αὐτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητος. Καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃς, εἰ δύναται μιμητὴς ἄνθρωπος γενέσθαι Θεοῦ. Δύναται, θέλοντος αὐτοῦ. Οὐ γὰρ τὸ καταδυναστεύειν τῶν πλησίον, οὐδὲ τὸ πλέον ἔχειν βούλεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων, οὐδὲ τὸ πλουτεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους, εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐστιν· οὐδὲ ἐν τούτοις δύναταί τις μιμήσασθαι Θεόν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλειότητος. Ἀλλ' ὅστις τὸ τοῦ πλησίον ἀναδέχεται βάρος, ὃς, ἐν ᾧ κρείσσων ἐστὶν, ἕτερον τὸν ἐλαττούμενον εὐεργετεῖν ἐθέλει, ὅσα[4] παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ λαβὼν ἔχει, ταῦτα τοῖς ἐπιδεομένοις χορηγῶν, Θεὸς γίνεται τῶν λαμβανόντων· οὗτος μιμητής ἐστι Θεοῦ. Τότε θεάσῃ τυγχάνων ἐπί γῆς, ὅτι Θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς πολιτεύεται· τότε μυστήρια Θεοῦ λαλεῖν ἄρξῃ· τότε τοὺς κολαζομένους ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ θέλειν ἀρνήσασθαι Θεὸν καὶ ἀγαπήσεις καὶ θαυμάσεις· τότε τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς πλάνης καταγνώσῃ, ὅταν τὸ ἀληθῶς ἐν οὐρανῷ ζῆν ἐπιγνώσῃ, ὅταν τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἐνθάδε θανάτου καταφρονήσῃς, ὅταν τὸν ὄντως θάνατον φοβηθῇς, ὃς φυλάσσεται τοῖς κατακριθησομένοις εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον, ὃ τοὺς παραδοθέντας αὐτῷ μέχρι τέλους κολάσει. Τότε τοὺς ὑπομένοντας ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης θαυμάσεις τὸ πῦρ τὸ πρόσκαιρον, καὶ μακαρίσεις, ὅταν ἐκεῖνο τὸ πῦρ ἐπιγνῷς.[5] .

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[1] Or ποθῇς—Stephanus notat dubium esse, utrum ποθῇς an ποθήσῃς in codice legatur.—OTTO.

[2] λόγον, means "reason" here.

[3] Ἐπιγνοὺς. Scil. τὸν πατέρα—OTTO.

[4] Or read ὃς ἃ.

[5] The early fathers—before ORIGEN—were unanimous in holding the doctrine of eternal punishment.

V. JUSTIN MARTYR.

Justin, surnamed the Philosopher and Martyr, flourished in the middle of the second century. His history is very interesting. A Grecian by birth, of the city of Neapolis, in Palestine, anciently called Sichem, he had applied himself to the study of philosophy, and run the round of the schools; first, a disciple of the Stoics, then of the Peripatetics, next a Pythagorean, and finally captivated with Platonism; but withal unsatisfied, his spirit still restlessly anxious on the first and greatest questions of a first cause, and of human destiny. Providentially, when in this state of mind, he was met by an aged stranger, who entered into conversation with him, and directed his attention to the inspired writings. The result was his embracing Christianity, and employing his well-disciplined powers in its defence; still wearing, as he did, the philosopher's garb. His best known and authenticated works are his two Apologies, and his conversation with one Trypho (or Tryphon), a Jew. He also wrote a work against Marcion. His views, somewhat Platonic, on the "Logos," are of interest to the Theological inquirer. All his writings shew much learning, though as an apologist, as might be expected, he is more powerful in his vindication of the Christian cause with the Greeks than with the Jews, to whose language and rites he was more a stranger. His first apology, containing an elaborate refutation of the charges brought against Christianity, was addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, and the Roman Senate and people. It was not without success in obtaining a relaxation of the severities practised against the Christians. His second, addressed after an interval of many years to Marcus Aurelius, shews that all the philosophy and lauded virtues of the second of the Antonines, could not induce a

full toleration of the religion of Jesus. Under his reign Justin fell a victim to the persecuting rage of the governors and the multitude, goaded on, it is said, by the Cynic philosopher Crescens. The martyr was beheaded in 167, or a year or two earlier. His courageous confession before the Roman prefect is more fully given than in Eusebius, in the "Acta sincera Martyrum," a work published by Ruinart, and commended by Jortin and Mosheim. The piece relating to Justin and his companions, who suffered with him, was finely translated by Lord Hailes.—(See Remains of Christian Antiquity: Edinburgh, 1778.)

From the views brought out especially in the Apologies, Neander regards Justin as the precursor of the Alexandrian Theology developed by Clement (Al.) and Origen. Our first extract is from the dialogue with Trypho; it begins where Justin is reciting to Trypho the conversation which he had held with the stranger—the *παλαιός τις πρεσβύτης*—whom he met in the course of his perambulations. There they discourse of the Platonic philosophy, and of what reason teaches of a first cause, the capacities of the soul, a future state of retribution, &c. Who this stranger was, is not known. Justin describes him as courteous and venerable; *ἰδέσθαι οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος, πρᾷον καὶ σεμνὸν ἦθος ἐμφαίνων.* He succeeded in modifying Justin's admiration of Plato and Pythagoras; his interesting disciple having found now, as he tells us, "the true philosophy."

The Dialogue, though distinguished from the "Apologies" of Justin, is yet in effect an Apology also, and finely illustrates the position that Christianity came to man's relief, just after philosophy had done its most, and was proved inadequate. "The world by wisdom knew not God."

The doubts of the authenticity of this work, raised by Koch, Semler, and others, have been fully examined and refuted by Münscher, Rosenmüller, and Semisch. (See Gieseler I., p. 48, note.]

ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΟΥ

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΡΥΦΩΝΑ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΝ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

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Ἆρα τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ὃ λέγεις, οἷον καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Τιμαίῳ αἰνίσσεται περὶ τοῦ κόσμου, λέγων ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν καὶ φθαρτός ἐστιν ᾗ γέγονεν, οὐ λυθήσεται δὲ οὐδὲ τεύξεται θανάτου μοίρας διὰ τὴν βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ; Τοῦτ' αὐτό σοι δοκεῖ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ ἁπλῶς πάντων πέρι λέγεσθαι; Ὅσα γάρ ἐστι μετὰ τὸν θεὸν ἢ ἔσται ποτέ, ταῦτα φύσιν φθαρτὴν ἔχειν, καὶ οἷά τε ἐξαφανισθῆναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι ἔτι· μόνος γὰρ ἀγέννητος καὶ ἄφθαρτος ὁ θεὸς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεός ἐστι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα μετὰ τοῦτον γεννητὰ καὶ φθαρτά. Τούτου χάριν καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ κολάζονται· ἐπεὶ εἰ ἀγέννητοι ἦσαν, οὔτ' ἂν ἐξημάρτανον οὔτε ἀφροσύνης ἀνάπλεῳ ἦσαν οὐδὲ δειλαὶ καὶ θρασεῖαι πάλιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἑκοῦσαι ποτὲ εἰς σύας ἐχώρουν καὶ ὄφεις καὶ κύνας, οὐδὲ μὴν ἀναγκάζεσθαι αὐτὰς θέμις, εἴπερ εἰσὶν ἀγέννητοι. Τὸ γὰρ ἀγέννητον τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ ὅμοιόν ἐστι καὶ ἴσον καὶ ταὐτόν, καὶ οὔτε δυνάμει οὔτε τιμῇ προκριθείη ἂν θατέρου τὸ ἕτερον, ὅθεν οὐδὲ πολλά ἐστι τὰ ἀγέννητα· εἰ γὰρ διαφορά τις ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἂν εὕροις ἀναζητῶν τὸ αἴτιον τῆς διαφορᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἄπειρον ἀεὶ τὴν διάνοιαν πέμπων ἐπὶ ἑνός ποτε στήσῃ ἀγεννήτου καμὼν καὶ τοῦτο φήσεις ἁπάντων αἴτιον. Εἴτε ἔλαθε, φημὶ ἐγώ, Πλάτωνα καὶ Πυθαγόραν σοφοὺς ἄνδρας, οἳ ὥσπερ τεῖχος ἡμῖν καὶ ἔρεισμα φιλοσοφίας ἐξεγένοντο;

6. Οὐδὲν ἐμοί, ἔφη, μέλει Πλάτωνος οὐδὲ Πυθαγόρου οὐδὲ ἁπλῶς οὐδενὸς ὅλως τοιαῦτα δοξάζοντος. Τὸ γὰρ ἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχει· μάθοις δ' ἂν ἐντεῦθεν. Ἡ ψυχὴ ἤτοι ζωή ἐστιν ἢ ζωὴν ἔχει. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ζωή ἐστιν, ἄλλο τι ἂν ποιήσειε ζῆν, οὐχ ἑαυτήν, ὡς καὶ κίνησις ἄλλο τι κινήσειε μᾶλλον ἢ ἑαυτήν.

Ὅτι δὲ ζῇ ψυχή, οὐδεὶς ἀντείποι. Εἰ δὲ ζῇ, οὐ ζωὴ οὖσα ζῇ, ἀλλὰ μεταλαμβάνουσα τῆς ζωῆς· ἕτερον δέ τι τὸ μετέχον τινὸς ἐκείνου οὗ μετέχει. Ζωῆς δὲ ψυχὴ μετέχει, ἐπεὶ ζῆν αὐτὴν ὁ θεὸς βούλεται. Οὕτως ἄρα καὶ οὐ μεθέξει ποτέ, ὅταν αὐτὴν μὴ θέλοι ζῆν· οὐ γὰρ ἰδὶ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ τὸ ζῆν ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος οὐ διαπαντός ἐστιν οὐδὲ σύνεστιν ἀεὶ τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ' ὅτε ἂν δέῃ λυθῆναι τὴν ἁρμονίαν ταύτην, καταλείπει ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔστιν, οὕτως καί, ὅταν δέῃ τὴν ψυχὴν μηκέτι εἶναι, ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτῆς τὸ ζωτικὸν πνεῦμα, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ψυχὴ ἔτι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ ὅθεν ἐλήφθη ἐκεῖσε χωρεῖ πάλιν.

7. Τίνι οὖν, φημί, ἔτι τις χρήσαιτο διδασκάλῳ ἢ πόθεν ὠφεληθείη τις, εἰ μηδὲ ἐν τούτοις τὸ ἀληθές ἐστιν;

Ἐγένοντό τινες πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου πάντων τούτων τῶν νομιζομένων φιλοσόφων παλαιότεροι, μακάριοι, καὶ δίκαιοι, καὶ θεοφιλεῖς, θείῳ πνεύματι λαλήσαντες καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα θεσπίσαντες, ἃ δὴ νῦν γίνεται· προφήτας δὲ αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν. Οὗτοι μόνοι τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἐξεῖπον ἀνθρώποις, μήτ' εὐλαβηθέντες μήτε δυσωπηθέντες τινά, μὴ ἡττημένοι δόξης, ἀλλὰ μόνα ταῦτα εἰπόντες ἃ ἤκουσαν καὶ ἃ εἶδον ἁγίῳ πληρωθέντες πνεύματι. Συγγράμματα δὲ αὐτῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει, καὶ ἔστιν ἐντυχόντα τούτοις πλεῖστον ὠφεληθῆναι καὶ περὶ ἀρχῶν, καὶ περὶ τέλους, καὶ ὧν χρὴ εἰδέναι τὸν φιλόσοφον, πιστεύσαντα ἐκείνοις. Οὐ γὰρ μετὰ ἀποδείξεως πεποίηνται τότε τοὺς λόγους, ἅτε ἀνωτέρω πάσης ἀποδείξεως ὄντες ἀξιόπιστοι μάρτυρες τῆς ἀληθείας· τὰ δὲ ἀποβάντα καὶ ἀποβαίνοντα ἐξαναγκάζει συντίθεσθαι τοῖς λελαλημένοις δι' αὐτῶν. Καίτοι γε καὶ διὰ τὰς δυνάμεις, ἃς ἐπετέλουν, πιστεύεσθαι δίκαιοι ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν ὅλων Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα ἐδόξαζον καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ Χριστὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ κατήγγελλον, ὅπερ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλάνου καὶ ἀκαθάρτου πνεύματος ἐμπιπλάμενοι ψευδοπροφῆται οὔτε ἐποίησαν οὔτε ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεις τινὰς ἐνεργεῖν εἰς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τολμῶσι καὶ τὰ τῆς πλάνης πνεύματα καὶ δαιμόνια δοξολογοῦσιν. Εὔχου δέ σοι πρὸ πάντων φωτὸς ἀνοιχθῆναι πύλας· οὐ γὰρ συνοπτὰ οὐδὲ συννοητὰ πᾶσίν ἐστιν, εἰ μή τῳ Θεὸς δῷ συνιέναι καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτοῦ.

8. Ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι ἄλλα πολλὰ εἰπὼν ἐκεῖνος, ἃ νῦν καιρὸς οὐκ ἔστι λέγειν, ᾤχετο, κελεύσας διώκειν αὐτά· καὶ οὐκ ἔτι αὐτὸν εἶδον· Ἐμοὶ δὲ παραχρῆμα πῦρ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀνήφθη, καὶ ἔρως εἶχέ με τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων, οἵ εἰσι Χριστοῦ φίλοι· διαλογιζόμενός τε πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ, ταύτην μόνην εὕρισκον φιλοσοφίαν ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ σύμφορον. Οὕτως δὴ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα φιλόσοφος ἐγώ. Βουλοίμην δ' ἂν καὶ πάντας ἴσον ἐμοὶ θυμὸν ποιησαμένους μὴ ἀφίστασθαι τῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος λόγων· δέος γάρ τι ἔχουσιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἱκανοὶ δυσωπῆσαι τοὺς ἐκτρεπομένους τῆς ὀρθῆς ὁδοῦ, ἀνάπαυσίς τε ἡδίστη γίνεται τοῖς ἐκμελετῶσιν αὐτούς. Εἰ οὖν τι καὶ σοὶ περὶ σεαυτοῦ μέλει, καὶ ἀντιποιῇ σωτηρίας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ πέποιθας, ἅπερ οὐκ ἀλλοτρίῳ τοῦ πράγματος, πάρεστιν ἐπιγνόντι σοι τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τελείῳ γενομένῳ εὐδαιμονεῖν.

Ταῦτά μου, φίλτατε, εἰπόντος οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Τρύφωνος ἀνεγέλασαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπομειδιάσας· Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σου, φησίν, ἀποδέχομαι καὶ ἄγαμαι τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον ὁρμῆς, ἄμεινον δὲ ἦν φιλοσοφεῖν ἔτι σε τὴν Πλάτωνος ἢ ἄλλου του φιλοσοφίαν, ἀσκοῦντα καρτερίαν καὶ ἐγκράτειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην, ἢ λόγοις ἐξαπατηθῆναι ψευδέσι καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀκολουθῆσαι οὐδενὸς ἀξίοις. Μένοντι γάρ σοι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τῆς φιλοσοφίας τρόπῳ καὶ ζῶντι ἀμέμπτως ἐλπὶς ὑπελείπετο ἀμείνονος μοίρας· καταλιπόντι δὲ τὸν θεὸν καὶ εἰς ἄνθρωπον ἐλπίσαντι ποία ἔτι περιλείπεται σωτηρία; Εἰ οὖν καὶ ἐμοῦ θέλεις ἀκοῦσαι (φίλον γάρ σε ἤδη νενόμικα), πρῶτον μὲν περιτεμοῦ, εἶτα φύλαξον, ὡς νενόμισται, τὸ σάββατον, καὶ τὰς ἑορτάς, καὶ τὰς νουμηνίας τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἁπλῶς τὰ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γεγραμμένα πάντα ποίει, καὶ τότε σοι ἴσως ἔλεος ἔσται παρὰ Θεοῦ. Χριστὸς δέ, εἰ καὶ γεγένηται, καὶ ἔστι που, ἄγνωστός ἐστι, καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτός πω ἑαυτὸν ἐπίσταται, οὐδὲ ἔχει δύναμίν τινα, μέχρις ἂν ἐλθὼν Ἠλίας χρίσῃ αὐτὸν, καὶ φανερὸν πᾶσι ποιήσῃ· ὑμεῖς δὲ ματαίαν ἀκοὴν παραδεξάμενοι, Χριστὸν ἑαυτοῖς τινὰ ἀναπλάσσετε, καὶ αὐτοῦ χάριν τα νῦν ἀσκόπως ἀπόλλυσθε.

9. Συγγνώμη σοι, ἔφην, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, καὶ ἀφεθείη σοι· οὐ γὰρ οἶδας ὃ λέγεις, ἀλλὰ πειθόμενος τοῖς διδασκάλοις, οἳ οὐ συνίασι τὰς γραφάς, καὶ ἀπομαντευόμενος λέγεις ὅ τι ἄν σοι

ἐπὶ θυμὸν ἔλθοι. Εἰ δὲ βούλοιο τούτου πέρι δέξασθαι λόγον, ὡς οὐ πεπλανήμεθα οὐδὲ παυσόμεθα ὁμολογοῦντες τοῦτον, κἂν τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἡμῖν ἐπιφέρωνται ὀνείδη, κἂν ὁ δεινότατος ἀπειπεῖν ἀναγκάζῃ τύραννος· παρεστῶτι γὰρ δείξω, ὅτι οὐ κενοῖς ἐπιστεύσαμεν μύθοις οὐδὲ ἀναποδείκτοις λόγοις, ἀλλὰ μεστοῖς πνεύματος θείου καὶ δυνάμει βρύουσι καὶ τεθηλόσι χάριτι. Ἀνεγέλασαν οὖν πάλιν οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄκοσμον ἀνεφθέγγοντο· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀναστὰς οἷός τ' ἤμην ἀπέρχεσθαι, ὁ δέ μου τοῦ ἱματίου λαβόμενος οὐ πρὶν ἀνήσειν ἔφη, πρὶν ὃ ὑπεσχόμην ἐκτελέσαι. * * * * * * * * * * * * *

10. Ὡς δὲ ἀνεπαύσαντο, ἐγὼ οὕτως αὐτοῖς πάλιν ἠρξάμην· Μὴ ἄλλο τί ἐστιν ὃ ἐπιμέμφεσθε ἡμᾶς, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἢ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τὸν νόμον βιοῦμεν, οὐδὲ ὁμοίως τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμῶν περιτεμνόμεθα τὴν σάρκα, οὐδὲ ὡς ὑμεῖς σαββατίζομεν; Ἦ καὶ ὁ βίος ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ ἦθος διαβέβληται παρ' ὑμῖν; Τοῦτο δ' ἔστιν ὃ λέγω, μὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς πεπιστεύκατε περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅτι δὴ ἐσθίομεν ἀνθρώπους καὶ μετὰ τὴν εἰλαπίνην[1] ἀποσβεννύντες τοὺς λύχνους ἀθέσμοις μίξεσιν ἐγκυλιόμεθα, ἢ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καταγινώσκετε ἡμῶν μόνον, ὅτι τοιούτοις προσέχομεν λόγοις καὶ οὐκ ἀληθεῖ, ὡς οἴεσθε, πιστεύομεν δόξῃ;

Τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὃ θαυμάζομεν, ἔφη ὁ Τρύφων, περὶ δὲ ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, οὐ πιστεῦσαι ἄξιον· πόῤῥω γὰρ κεχώρηκε τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως. Ὑμῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ εὐαγγελίῳ παραγγέλματα θαυμαστὰ οὕτως καὶ μεγάλα ἐπίσταμαι εἶναι, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνειν μηδένα δύνασθαι φυλάξαι αὐτά· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐμέλησεν ἐντυχεῖν αὐτοῖς. Ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἀποροῦμεν μάλιστα, εἰ ὑμεῖς, εὐσεβεῖν λέγοντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἰόμενοι διαφέρειν, κατ' οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολείπεσθε, οὐδὲ διαλλάσσετε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν τὸν ὑμέτερον βίον, ἐν τῷ μήτε τὰς ἑορτὰς μήτε τὰ σάββατα τηρεῖν[2] μήτε τὴν περιτομὴν ἔχειν, καὶ ἔτι ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον σταυρωθέντα τὰς ἐλπίδας ποιούμενοι ὅμως ἐλπίζετε τεύξεσθαι ἀγαθοῦ τινος παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, μὴ ποιοῦντες αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐντολάς. Ἢ οὐκ ἀνέγνως,

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[1] Referring to gross charges against the first Christians, also noticed and refuted by Tertullian, Minucius Felix, &c.

[2] Compare with this sect. 41, where he recognises the first day of the week as the Sabbath. See also sect. 67, Apol. I.

ὅτι ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκείνη ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτῆς, ἥτις οὐ περιτμηθήσεται τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ; Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀλλογενῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀργυρωνήτων διέσταλται. Ταύτης οὖν τῆς διαθήκης εὐθέως καταφρονήσαντες ὑμεῖς ἀμελεῖτε καὶ τῶν ἔπειτα, καὶ πείθειν ἡμᾶς ἐπιχειρεῖτε ὡς εἰδότες τὸν θεόν, μηδὲν πράσσοντες ὧν οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν. Εἰ οὖν ἔχεις πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπολογήσασθαι, καὶ ἐπιδεῖξαι ᾧτινι τρόπῳ ἐλπίζετε ὁτιοῦν, κἂν μὴ φυλάσσοντες τὸν νόμον, τοῦτό σου ἡδέως ἀκούσαιμεν μάλιστα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ ὁμοίως συνεξετάσωμεν.

11. Οὔτε ἔσται ποτὲ ἄλλος θεός, ὦ Τρύφων, οὔτε ἦν ἀπ' αἰῶνος (ἐγὼ οὕτως πρὸς αὐτόν) πλὴν τοῦ ποιήσαντος καὶ διατάξαντος τόδε τὸ πᾶν. Οὐδὲ ἄλλον μὲν ἡμῶν, ἄλλον δὲ ὑμῶν ἡγούμεθα θεόν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐξαγαγόντα τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ· οὐδ' εἰς ἄλλον τινὰ ἠλπίκαμεν (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν) ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτον, εἰς ὃν καὶ ὑμεῖς, τὸν θεὸν τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. Ἠλπίκαμεν δὲ οὐ διὰ Μωσέως οὐδὲ διὰ τοῦ νόμου. ἦ γὰρ ἂν τὸ αὐτὸ ὑμῖν ἐποιοῦμεν. Νυνὶ δὲ ἀνέγνων γάρ, ὦ Τρύφων, ὅτι ἔσοιτο καὶ τελευταῖος νόμος καὶ διαθήκη κυριωτάτη πασῶν, ἣν νῦν δέον φυλάσσειν πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὅσοι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ κληρονομίας ἀντιποιοῦνται. Ὁ γὰρ ἐν Χωρὴβ παλαιὸς ἤδη νόμος καὶ ὑμῶν μόνων, ὁ δὲ πάντων ἁπλῶς· νόμος δὲ κατὰ νόμου τεθεὶς τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἔπαυσε, καὶ διαθήκη μετέπειτα γενομένη τὴν προτέραν ὁμοίως ἔστησεν. Αἰώνιός τε ἡμῖν νόμος καὶ τελευταῖος ὁ Χριστὸς ἐδόθη καὶ ἡ διαθήκη πιστή, μεθ' ἣν οὐ νόμος, οὐ πρόσταγμα, οὐκ ἐντολή. Ἢ σὺ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀνέγνως, ἅ φησιν Ἡσαΐας; Ἀκούσατέ μου, ἀκούσατέ μου, λαός μου, καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς πρός με ἐνωτίζεσθε, ὅτι νόμος παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐξελεύσεται καὶ ἡ κρίσις μου εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν. Ἐγγίζει ταχὺ ἡ δικαιοσύνη μου, καὶ ἐξελεύσεται τὸ σωτήριόν μου, καὶ εἰς τὸν βραχίονά μου ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσι. Καὶ διὰ Ἱερεμίου περὶ ταύτης αὐτῆς τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης οὕτω φησίν· Ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, λέγει κύριος, καὶ διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰούδα διαθήκην καινήν, οὐχ ἣν διεθέμην τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ ἐπελαβόμην τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου. Εἰ οὖν ὁ

Θεὸς[1] διαθήκην καινὴν ἐκήρυξε μέλλουσαν διαταχθήσεσθαι καὶ ταύτην εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν, ὁρῶμεν δὲ καὶ πεπείσμεθα διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀδικίας προσελθόντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ μέχρι θανάτου ὑπομένοντας τὴν ὁμολογίαν καὶ εὐσέβειαν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἐκ τῆς παρακολουθούσης δυνάμεως συνιέναι πᾶσι δυνατόν, ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ καινὸς νόμος καὶ ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη καὶ ἡ προσδοκία τῶν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀναμενόντων τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθά. Ἰσραηλιτικὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀληθινόν, πνευματικόν, καὶ Ἰούδα γένος καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἀβραάμ, τοῦ ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει μαρτυρηθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εὐλογηθέντος καὶ πατρὸς πολλῶν ἐθνῶν κληθέντος, ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν οἱ διὰ τούτου τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Χριστοῦ τῷ Θεῷ προσαχθέντες, ὡς καὶ προκοπτόντων ἡμῖν τῶν λόγων ἀποδειχθήσεται.

12. Ἔλεγον δὲ ἔτι καὶ προσέφερον, ὅτι καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις λόγοις Ἡσαΐας βοᾷ· Ἀκούσατέ μου τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ζήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν, καὶ διαθήσομαι ὑμῖν διαθήκην αἰώνιον, τὰ ὅσια Δαβὶδ τὰ πιστά. Ἰδοὺ μαρτυρα αὐτὸν ἔθνεσι δέδωκα· Ἔθνη, ἃ οὐκ οἴδασί σε, ἐπικαλέσονταί σε, λαοί, οἳ οὐκ ἐπίστανταί σε, καταφεύξονται ἐπί σε, ἕνεκεν τοῦ θεοῦ σου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσραήλ, ὅτι ἐδόξασέ σε· Τοῦτον αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς ἠτιμώσατε τὸν νόμον καὶ τὴν καινὴν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ διαθήκην ἐφαυλίσατε, καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν παραδέχεσθε οὐδὲ μετανοεῖτε πράξαντες κακῶς· ἔτι γὰρ τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν πέφρακται, οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ὑμῶν πεπήρωνται, καὶ πεπάχυται ἡ καρδία. Κέκραγεν Ἰερεμίας, καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως ἀκούετε· πάρεστιν ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε· πτωχοὶ εὐαγ-

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[1] Few things are more interesting in the Dialogue, or in the Apologies of Justin, than his frequent acknowledgment of the inspiration of the Prophets, and his references to the ἅγιον προφητικὸν πνεῦμα. The writer on inspiration, in the work called "Aids to Faith," makes good use of this fact. After remarking that the reverence which the ancient Jews felt for the Jewish Scriptures must have sprung from the highest theory of verbal inspiration, he adds: "The earlier Christian fathers seem to have followed much the same course as their Jewish predecessors. Justin Martyr and his opponent seem fully agreed in their appreciation of the Old Testament. Clemens Romanus calls the Holy Scriptures 'the true words of the Holy Ghost.' No definite theory of inspiration would be likely to be propounded; but the general reverence for the words of Holy writ, and the deep significance believed to exist underneath the letter, prove the belief in inspiration to have been strong and universal."—*Aids to Faith, Lond.* 1861, p. 289.

γελίζονται, τυφλοὶ βλέπουσι, καὶ οὐ συνίετε. Δευτέρας ἤδη χρεία περιτομῆς, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ σαρκὶ μέγα φρονεῖτε. σαββατίζειν ὑμᾶς ὁ καινὸς νόμος διαπαντὸς ἐθέλει, καὶ ὑμεῖς μίαν ἀργοῦντες ἡμέραν εὐσεβεῖν δοκεῖτε, μὴ νοοῦντες, διὰ τί ὑμῖν προσετάγη· καὶ ἐὰν ἄζυμον ἄρτον φάγητε, πεπληρωκέναι τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ φατέ. Οὐκ ἐν τούτοις εὐδοκεῖ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. Εἴ τις ἔστιν ἐν ὑμῖν ἐπίορκος ἢ κλέπτης, παυσάσθω· εἴ τις μοιχός, μετανοησάτω, καὶ σεσαββάτικε τὰ τρυφερὰ καὶ ἀληθινὰ σάββατα τοῦ θεοῦ· εἴ τις καθαρὰς οὐκ ἔχει χεῖρας, λουσάσθω, καὶ καθαρός ἐστιν.

40. Τὸ μυστήριον οὖν τοῦ προβάτου, ὃ τὸ πάσχα θύειν ἐντέταλται ὁ θεός, τύπος ἦν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὗ τῷ αἵματι κατὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν πίστεως χρίονται τοὺς οἴκους ἑαυτῶν, τουτέστιν ἑαυτούς, οἱ πιστεύοντες εἰς αὐτόν· ὅτι γὰρ τὸ πλάσμα, ὃ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ, οἶκος ἐγένετο τοῦ ἐμφυσήματος τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ πάντες νοεῖν δύνασθε. Καὶ ὅτι πρόσκαιρος ἦν καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἐντολή, οὕτως ἀποδείκνυμι. Οὐδαμοῦ θύεσθαι τὸ πρόβατον τοῦ πάσχα ὁ θεὸς συγχωρεῖ, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ τόπῳ ᾧ ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν τὸν Χριστόν, ὅτε καὶ ὁ τόπος τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑμῶν παραδοθήσεται καὶ παύσονται ἅπασαι ἁπλῶς προσφοραὶ γινόμεναι. Καὶ τὸ κελευσθὲν πρόβατον ἐκεῖνο ὀπτὸν ὅλον γίνεσθαι τοῦ πάθους τοῦ σταυροῦ, δι' οὗ πάσχειν ἔμελλεν ὁ Χριστός, σύμβολον ἦν. Τὸ γὰρ ὀπτώμενον πρόβατον σχηματιζόμενον ὁμοίως τῷ σχήματι τοῦ σταυροῦ ὀπτᾶται· εἷς γὰρ ὄρθιος ὀβελίσκος διαπερονᾶται ἀπὸ τῶν κατωτάτω μερῶν μέχρι τῆς κεφαλῆς, καὶ εἷς πάλιν κατὰ τὸ μετάφρενον, ᾧ προσαρτῶνται καὶ αἱ χεῖρες τοῦ προβάτου. Καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ νηστείᾳ δὲ τράγοι δύο ὅμοιοι κελευσθέντες γίνεσθαι, ὧν ὁ εἷς ἀποπομπαῖος ἐγίνετο, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος εἰς προσφοράν, τῶν δύο παρουσιῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καταγγελία ἦσαν· μιᾶς μέν, ἐν ᾗ ὡς ἀποπομπαῖον αὐτὸν παρεπέμψαντο οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ ὑμῶν καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐπιβαλόντες αὐτῷ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ θανατώσαντες αὐτόν, καὶ τῆς δευτέρας δὲ αὐτοῦ παρουσίας, ὅτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτόν, τὸν ἀτιμωθέντα ὑφ' ὑμῶν, καὶ προσφορὰ ἦν ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν μετανοεῖν βουλομένων ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ νηστευόντων ἣν κατα-

λέγει Ἠσαΐας νηστείαν, διασπῶντες στραγγαλιὰς βιαίων συναλλαγμάτων καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως τὰ κατηριθμημένα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνιστόρησα, φυλάσσοντες, ἃ ποιοῦσιν οἱ τῷ Ἰησοῦ πιστεύοντες. Καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἡ τῶν δύο τράγων τῶν νηστείᾳ κελευσθέντων προσφέρεσθαι προσφορὰ οὐδαμοῦ ὁμοίως συγκεχώρηται γίνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ἐπίστασθε.

41. Καὶ ἡ τῆς σεμιδάλεως δὲ προσφορά, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔλεγον, ἡ ὑπὲρ τῶν καθαριζομένων ἀπὸ τῆς λέπρας προσφέρεσθαι παραδοθεῖσα, τύπος ἦν τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, ὃν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ πάθους, οὗ ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν καθαιρομένων τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπὸ πάσης πονηρίας ἀνθρώπων, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν παρέδωκε ποιεῖν, ἵνα ἅμα τε εὐχαριστῶμεν τῷ θεῷ ὑπέρ τε τοῦ τὸν κόσμον ἐκτικέναι σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας, ἐν ᾗ γεγόναμεν, ἠλευθερωκέναι ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας κατελελυκέναι τελείαν κατάλυσιν διὰ τοῦ παθητοῦ γενομένου κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτοῦ. Ὅθεν περὶ μὲν τῶν ὑφ' ὑμῶν τότε προσφερομένων θυσιῶν λέγει ὁ θεός, ὡς προέφην, διὰ Μαλαχίου, ἑνὸς τῶν δώδεκα· Οὐκ ἔστι θέλημά μου ἐν ὑμῖν, λέγει κύριος, καὶ τὰς θυσίας ὑμῶν οὐ προσδέξομαι ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν· διότι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου ἕως δυσμῶν τὸ ὄνομά μου δεδόξασται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ θυμίαμα προσφέρεται τῷ ὀνόματί μου καὶ θυσία καθαρά, ὅτι μέγα τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, λέγει κύριος, ὑμεῖς δὲ βεβηλοῦτε αὐτό. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν προσφερομένων αὐτῷ θυσιῶν, τουτέσι τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ὁμοίως τῆς εὐχαριστίας, προλέγει τότε εἰπὼν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ δοξάζειν ἡμᾶς, ὑμᾶς δὲ βεβηλοῦν. Ἡ δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς περιτομῆς, κελεύουσα τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ παντὸς περιτέμνειν τὰ γεννώμενα, τύπος ἦν τῆς ἀληθινῆς περιτομῆς, ἣν περιετμήθημεν ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης καὶ πονηρίας διὰ τοῦ ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντος τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέρᾳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν· μία γὰρ τῶν σαββάτων, πρώτη μένουσα τῶν πασῶν ἡμερῶν, κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν πάλιν τῶν πασῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς κυκλοφορίας ὀγδόη καλεῖται καὶ πρώτη οὖσα μένει.

ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΟΥ

ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΥΠΕΡ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ

ΠΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΗ.

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1. Αὐτοκράτορι Τίτῳ Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ Εὐσεβεῖ Σεβαστῷ Καίσαρι καὶ Οὐηρισσίμῳ υἱῷ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ Λουκίῳ φιλοσόφῳ Καίσαρος φύσει υἱῷ καὶ Εὐσεβοῦς εἰσποιητῷ, ἐραστῇ παιδείας, ἱερᾷ τε Συγκλήτῳ καί δήμῳ παντὶ Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων ἀδίκως μισουμένων καὶ ἐπηρεαζομένων Ἰουστῖνος Πρίσκου τοῦ Βακχείου, τῶν ἀπὸ Φλαουΐας νέας πόλεως τῆς Συρίας Παλαιστίνης, εἷς αὐτῶν ὢν τὴν προσφώνησιν καὶ ἔντευξιν πεποίημαι.

2. Τοὺς κατ' ἀλήθειαν εὐσεβεῖς καὶ φιλοσόφους μόνον τἀληθὲς τιμᾶν καὶ στέργειν ὁ λόγος ὑπαγορεύει, παραιτουμένους δόξαις παλαιῶν ἐξακολουθεῖν, ἂν φαῦλαι ὦσιν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον μὴ ἕπεσθαι τοῖς ἀδίκως τι πράξασιν ἢ δογματίσασιν ὁ σώφρων λόγος ὑπαγορεύει, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς τὸν φιλαλήθη, κἂν θάνατος ἀπειλῆται, τὰ δίκαια λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν αἱρεῖσθαι δεῖ. Ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν ὅτι λέγεσθε εὐσεβεῖς καὶ φιλόσοφοι καὶ φύλακες δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἐρασταὶ παιδείας, ἀκούετε πανταχοῦ, εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑπάρχετε, δειχθήσεται.[1] Οὐ γὰρ κολακεύσοντες ὑμᾶς διὰ τῶνδε τῶν γραμμάτων οὐδὲ πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλήσοντες, ἀλλ' ἀπαιτήσοντες κατὰ τὸν ἀκριβῆ ἐξεταστικὸν λόγον τὴν κρίσιν ποιήσασθαι προσεληλύθειμεν, μὴ προλήψει μηδ' ἀνθρωπαρεσκείᾳ τῇ δεισιδαιμόνων κατεχομένους ἢ ἀλόγῳ ὁρμῇ καὶ χρονίᾳ προκατεσχηκυίᾳ φήμῃ κακῇ τὴν καθ' ἑαυτῶν ψῆφον φέροντας. Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς οὐδενὸς πείσεσθαί τι κακὸν δύνασθαι

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[1] The meaning is; the "Apology" being read, and the true character of Christians understood, it would be seen by the treatment given to them whether their rulers really deserved the title Εὐσεβεῖς.

λεγογίσμεθα, ἢν μὴ κακίας ἐργάται ἐλεγχώμεθα ἢ πονηροὶ διεγνώσμεθα· ὑμεῖς δ' ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν δύνασθε, βλάψαι δ' οὔ.

3. Ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἄλογον φωνὴν καὶ τολμηρὰν δόξῃ τις ταῦτα εἶναι, ἀξιοῦμεν τὰ κατηγορούμενα αὐτῶν ἐξετάζεσθαι, καὶ, ἐὰν οὕτως ἔχοντα ἀποδεικνύωνται, κολάζεσθαι ὡς πρέπον ἐστί· εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἔχοι τις ἐλέγχειν, οὐχ ὑπαγορεύει ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος διὰ φήμην πονηρὰν ἀναιτίους ἀνθρώπους ἀδικεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑαυτούς, οἳ οὐ κρίσει, ἀλλὰ πάθει τὰ πράγματα ἐπάγειν ἀξιοῦτε. Καλὴν δὲ καὶ μόνην δικαίαν πρόκλησιν ταύτην πᾶς ὁ σωφρονῶν ἀποφανεῖται, τὸ τοὺς ἀρχομένους τὴν εὐθύνην τοῦ ἑαυτῶν βίου καὶ λόγου ἄληπτον παρέχειν, ὁμοίως δ' αὖ καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας μὴ βίᾳ μηδὲ τυραννίδι, ἀλλ' εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἀκολουθοῦντας τὴν ψῆφον τίθεσθαι. Οὕτως γὰρ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἀπολαύοιεν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. Ἔφη γάρ που καί τις τῶν παλαιῶν· Ἂν μὴ οἱ ἄρχοντες φιλοσοφήσωσι καὶ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι, οὐκ ἂν εἴη τὰς πόλεις εὐδαιμονῆσαι. Ἡμέτερον οὖν ἔργον, καὶ βίου καὶ μαθημάτων τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν πᾶσι παρέχειν, μήπως ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγνοεῖν τὰ ἡμέτερα νομιζόντων τὴν τιμωρίαν, ὧν ἂν πλημμελῶσι τυφλώττοντες αὐτῶν, αὐτοῖς ὀφλήσωμεν· ὑμέτερον δέ, ὡς αἱρεῖ λόγος, ἀκούοντας ἀγαθοὺς εὑρίσκεσθαι κριτάς. Ἀναπολόγητον γὰρ λοιπὸν μαθοῦσιν, ἢν μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιήσητε, ὑπάρξει πρὸς θεόν.

4. Ὀνόματος μὲν οὖν προσωνυμίᾳ οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακὸν κρίνεται ἄνευ τῶν ὑποπιπτουσῶν τῷ ὀνόματι πράξεων· ἐπεί, ὅσον γε ἐκ τοῦ κατηγορουμένου ἡμῶν ὀνόματος, χρηστότατοι ὑπάρχομεν. Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐ τοῦτο δίκαιον ἡγούμεθα, διὰ τὸ ὄνομα, ἐὰν κακοὶ ἐλεγχώμεθα, αἰτεῖν ἀφίεσθαι, πάλιν, εἰ μηδὲν διά τε τὴν προσηγορίαν τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ διὰ τὴν πολιτείαν εὑρισκόμεθα ἀδικοῦντες, ὑμέτερον ἀγωνιᾶσαί ἐστι, μὴ ἀδίκως κολάζοντες τοὺς μὴ ἐλεγχομένους τῇ δίκῃ κόλασιν ὀφλήσητε. Ἐξ ὀνόματος μὲν γὰρ ἢ ἔπαινος ἢ κόλασις οὐκ ἂν εὐλόγως γένοιτο, ἢν μή τι ἐνάρετον ἢ φαῦλον δι' ἔργων ἀποδείκνυσθαι δύνηται· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς κατηγορουμένους ἐφ' ὑμῶν πάντας πρὶν ἐλεγχθῆναι οὐ τιμωρεῖτε, ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα ὡς ἔλεγχον λαμβάνετε, καίπερ, ὅσον γε ἐκ τοῦ ὀνοματος, τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας μᾶλλον κολάζειν ὀφείλετε. Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ εἶναι

κατηγορούμεθα· τὸ δὲ χρηστὸν[1] μισεῖσθαι οὐ δίκαιον. Καὶ πάλιν, ἐὰν μέν τις τῶν κατηγορουμένων ἔξαρνος γένηται τῇ φωνῇ μὴ εἶναι φήσας, ἀφίετε αὐτὸν ὡς μηδὲν ἐλέγχειν ἔχοντες ἁμαρτάνοντα, ἐὰν δέ τις ὁμολογήσῃ εἶναι, διὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν κολάζετε· δέον καὶ τὸν τοῦ ὁμολογοῦντος βίον εὐθύνειν καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀρνουμένου, ὅπως διὰ τῶν πράξεων ὁποῖός ἐστιν ἕκαστος φαίνηται. Ὃν γὰρ τρόπον παραλαβόντες τινὲς παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου Χριστοῦ μὴ ἀρνεῖσθαι ἐξεταζόμενοι παρακελεύονται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κακῶς ζῶντες ἴσως ἀφορμὰς παρέχουσι τοῖς ἄλλως καταλέγειν τῶν πάντων Χριστιανῶν ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀδικίαν αἱρουμένοις· Οὐκ ὀρθῶς μὲν οὐδὲ τοῦτο πράττεται. Καὶ γάρ τοι φιλοσοφίας ὄνομα καὶ σχῆμα ἐπιγράφονταί τινες, οἳ οὐδὲν ἄξιον τῆς ὑποσχέσεως πράττουσι· γινώσκετε δ' ὅτι καὶ οἱ τὰ ἐναντία δοξάσαντες καὶ δογματίσαντες τῶν παλαιῶν τῷ ἑνὶ ὀνόματι προσαγορεύονται φιλόσοφοι. Καὶ τούτων τινὲς ἀθεότητα ἐδίδαξαν, καὶ τὸν Δία ἀσελγῆ ἅμα τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶν οἱ γενόμενοι ποιηταὶ καταγγέλλουσι· κἀκείνων τὰ διδάγματα οἱ μετερχόμενοι οὐκ εἴργονται πρὸς ὑμῶν, ἆθλα δὲ καὶ τιμὰς τοῖς εὐφώνως ὑβρίζουσι τούτους τίθετε·

5. Τί δὴ οὖν τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη; Ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὑπισχνουμένων μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν μηδὲ τὰ ἄθεα ταῦτα δοξάζειν, οὐ κρίσεις ἐξετάζετε, ἀλλ' ἀλόγῳ πάθει καὶ μάστιγι δαιμόνων φαύλων ἐξελαυνόμενοι ἀκρίτως κολάζετε μὴ φροντίζοντες. Εἰρήσεται γὰρ τἀληθές· ἐπεὶ τὸ παλαιὸν δαίμονες φαῦλοι, ἐπιφανείας ποιησάμενοι, καὶ γυναῖκας ἐμοίχευσαν καὶ παῖδας διέφθειραν καὶ φόβητρα ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν, ὡς καταπλαγῆναι τοὺς οἳ λόγῳ τὰς γινομένας πράξεις οὐκ ἔκρινον, ἀλλὰ δέει συνηρπασμένοι καὶ μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι δαίμονας εἶναι φαύλους, θεοὺς προσωνόμαζον καὶ ὀνόματι ἕκαστον προσηγόρευον, ὅπερ ἕκαστος[2] αὐτῷ τῶν δαιμόνων ἐτίθετο. Ὅτε δὲ Σωκράτης λόγῳ ἀληθεῖ καὶ ἐξεταστικῶς ταῦτα εἰς φανερὸν ἐπειρᾶτο φέρειν καὶ ἀπάγειν τῶν δαιμόνων

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[1] χρηστὸν—Some think this is a play on words by the good father; who was not ignorant of the real etymology of Χριστιανοὶ, as appears in sect. 12, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ Χριστιανοὶ ἐπονομάζεσθαι ἐσχήκαμεν. "Vehementer antiqui tum sacri tum profani scriptores, Attici imprimis (Plato et Demosthenes) in ejusmodi lusibus etymologicis, et quidem in hac voce χρηστὸς elaborárunt."—Cf. Grotius ad Matt, 1, 21, &c.—Otto.

[2] A better reading, ἑαυτῷ.—Otto.

τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ δαίμονες διὰ τῶν χαιρόντων τῇ κακίᾳ ἀνθρώπων ἐνήργησαν ὡς ἄθεον καὶ ἀσεβῆ ἀποκτεῖναι, λέγοντες καινὰ εἰσφέρειν αὐτὸν δαιμόνια. Καὶ ὁμοίως ἐφ' ἡμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνεργοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν Ἕλλησι διὰ Σωκράτους ὑπὸ λόγου ἠλέγχθη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν βαρβάροις[1] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου μορφωθέντος καὶ ἀνθρώπου γενομένου καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κληθέντος, ᾧ πεισθέντες ἡμεῖς τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας δαίμονας οὐ μόνον μὴ ὀρθοὺς εἶναί φαμεν, ἀλλὰ κακοὺς καὶ ἀνοσίους δαίμονας, οἳ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀρετὴν ποθοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις τὰς πράξεις ὁμοίας ἔχουσι.

6. Ἐνθένδε καὶ ἄθεοι κεκλήμεθα. Καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν τῶν τοιούτων νομιζομένων θεῶν ἄθεοι εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀληθεστάτου καὶ πατρὸς δικαιοσύνης καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, ἀνεπιμίκτου τε κακίας θεοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἑπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατόν, πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες, καὶ παντὶ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν, ἀφθόνως παραδιδόντες. * * * * * *

11. Καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀκούσαντες βασιλείαν προσδοκῶντας ἡμᾶς, ἀκρίτως ἀνθρώπινον λέγειν ἡμᾶς ὑπειλήφατε, ἡμῶν τὴν μετὰ θεοῦ λεγόντων, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνεταζομένους ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι Χριστιανούς, γινώσκοντες τῷ ὁμολογοῦντι θάνατον τὴν ζημίαν κεῖσθαι, φαίνεται. Εἰ γὰρ ἀνθρώπινον βασιλείαν προσεδοκῶμεν, κἂν ἠρνούμεθα, ὅπως μὴ ἀναιρώμεθα, καὶ λανθάνειν ἐπειρώμεθα, ὅπως τῶν προσδοκωμένων τύχωμεν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ νῦν τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχομεν, ἀναιρούντων οὐ πεφροντίκαμεν, τοῦ καὶ πάντως ἀποθανεῖν ὀφειλομένου. * * *

13. Ἄθεοι[2] μὲν οὖν ὡς οὔκ ἐσμεν, τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς σεβόμενοι, ἀνενδεῆ αἱμάτων καὶ σπονδῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν, λέγοντες, λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας ἐφ' οἷς προσφερόμεθα πᾶσιν, ὅση δύναμις, αἰνοῦντες, μόνην ἀξίαν

[1] The Jews as well as other nations were so called by the Greeks. JUSTIN here uses the term in adaptation to the ideas of those to whom he writes.

[2] The primitive Christians were so called as being despisers of the pagan divinities, and for refusing to worship them. Hence the severity even of M. Aurelius, who to his stoicism added a bigotted zeal for his religion, such as it was. Julian afterwards called Christianity "the Atheism."

αὐτοῦ τιμὴν ταύτην παραλαβόντες, τὸ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου εἰς διατροφὴν γενόμενα οὐ πυρὶ δαπανᾶν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις προσφέρειν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ εὐχαρίστους ὄντας διὰ λόγου πομπὰς[1] *καὶ ὕμνους πέμπειν ὑπέρ τε τοῦ γεγονέναι καὶ τῶν εἰς εὐρωστίαν πόρων πάντων, ποιοτήτων μὲν γενῶν καὶ μεταβολῶν ὡρῶν, καὶ τοῦ πάλιν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ γενέσθαι διὰ πίστιν τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ αἰτήσεις πέμποντες, τίς σωφρονῶν οὐχ ὁμολογήσει; Τὸν διδάσκαλόν τε τούτων γενόμενον ἡμῖν καὶ εἰς τοῦτο γεννηθέντα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐπὶ χρόνοις Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἐπιτρόπου, υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντως θεοῦ*[2] *μαθόντες καὶ ἐν δευτέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἔχοντες, πνεῦμά τε προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει ὅτι μετὰ λόγου τιμῶμεν, ἀποδείξομεν. Ἐνταῦθα*

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[1] *πομπὰς,* means here solemnly recited prayers; it used to denote a solemn ceremony in honour of the gods or men.

[2] Sometimes, in clear terms, Justin acknowledges the divinity of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost. Yet, no doubt, a like indistinctness attaches to some of his expressions as to those of the Alexandrian school, contrasting disadvantageously with the post-Nicene writers. His ascription of Almighty power and eternity to the Father, as if exclusively, may be accounted for from his having in view the Marcionites, Valentinians, and other Gnostics, who either denied the Father to be the supreme God, or refused the God of the Bible to be the Creator. But in his description of the "Logos" we may perceive his Platonic ideas. He attributes to the will of the Father the generation of the Son; though previously he was the *Λογός ἐνδιάθετος,* inherent in the Father; yet correspondingly to the term Logos, as meaning, either reason or utterance, he became also *Λογός προφορίκός.* His generation in this sense is not his beginning to be, but as a distinct person beginning to exert his powers upon external objects; and to the agency of this person Justin ascribes the creation of the World, and all the Theophanies of the Old Testament, (see sections 23, 63; also 2nd Apol., 10.) Although Justin carefully distinguishes the origin of the Son from creation out of nothing, yet he scruples not to apply the term *ἔκτισε* in Prov. 8, (LXX,) to the Logos: at that time no dispute having arisen respecting the difference of the idea of generation and creation. Arians and Sabellians have taken advantage of Justin's words; he speaks again and again, however, of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as objects of Divine worship. His ideas of the "Logos" may explain also his language respecting Socrates and Plato, and the Stoics. The Logos was regarded by Justin, besides being a hypostasis, as the diffused truth—the wisdom of God—the fountain of all truth to men. In the human soul is something allied to it—a seed of it implanted —the *λόγος σπερματικὸς.*—(See 2nd Apol., 13.) This was developed in all who, like Socrates or Plato, gave themselves up to the inspirations of heavenly wisdom; they were disciples of the Logos, Christians before Christianity. But, the hypostatical Logos "was the centre where all the scattered rays of the god-like in humanity converged. He makes use of this doctrine to vindicate against the heathen the lateness of Christ's advent, and to argue their responsibility."—*Neander's Christian Dogmas,* I.

Milner is pleased with Justin, as "in fundamentals unquestionably sound; though in asserting that the philosophers saw something of truth from the portion of the seed of the divine word, which he makes to

γὰρ μανίαν ἡμῶν καταφαίνονται, δευτέραν χώραν μετὰ τὸν ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀεὶ ὄντα θεὸν καὶ γεννήτορα τὸν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπῳ σταυρωθέντι διδόναι ἡμᾶς λέγοντες, ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ ἐν τούτῳ μυστήριον, ᾧ προσέχειν ὑμᾶς ἐξηγουμένων ἡμῶν προτρεπόμεθα.

14. *Προλέγομεν γὰρ ὑμῖν φυλάξασθαι, μὴ οἱ προδιαβεβλημένοι ὑφ' ἡμῶν δαίμονες ἐξαπατήσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀποτρέψωσι τοῦ ὅλως ἐντυχεῖν καὶ συνεῖναι τὰ λεγόμενα (ἀγωνίζονται γὰρ ἔχειν ὑμᾶς δούλους καὶ ὑπηρέτας, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν δι' ὀνείρων ἐπιφανείας, ποτὲ δ' αὖ διὰ μαγικῶν στροφῶν χειροῦνται πάντας τοὺς οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ἀγωνιζομένους), ὃν τρόπον καὶ ἡμεῖς μετὰ τὸ τῷ λόγῳ πεισθῆναι ἐκείνων μὲν ἀπέστημεν, θεῷ δὲ μόνῳ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ*[1] *διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἑπόμεθα· οἱ πάλαι μὲν πορνείαις χαίροντες, νῦν δὲ σωφροσύνην μόνην ἀσπαζόμενοι· οἱ δὲ καὶ μαγικαῖς τέχναις χρώμενοι, ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ ἑαυτοὺς ἀνατεθεικότες· χρημάτων δὲ καὶ κτημάτων οἱ πόρους παντὸς μᾶλλον στέργοντες, νῦν καὶ ἃ ἔχομεν εἰς κοινὸν φέροντες καὶ παντὶ δεομένῳ κοινωνοῦντες· οἱ μισάλληλοι δὲ καὶ ἀλληλοφόνοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οὐχ ὁμοφύλους διὰ τὰ ἔθη καὶ ἑστίας κοινὰς μὴ ποιούμενοι, νῦν μετὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁμοδίαιτοι γινόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐχόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἀδίκως μισοῦντας πείθειν πειρώμενοι, ὅπως οἱ κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ καλὰς ὑποθημοσύνας βιώσαντες εὐέλπιδες ὦσι, σὺν ἡμῖν τῶν αὐτῶν παρὰ τοῦ πάντων δεσπόζοντος θεοῦ τυχεῖν. Ἵνα δὲ μὴ σοφίζεσθαι ὑμᾶς δόξωμεν, ὀλίγων τινῶν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδαγμάτων ἐπιμνησθῆναι καλῶς ἔχειν πρὸ τῆς ἀποδείξεως ἡγησάμεθα, καὶ ὑμέτερον ἔστω ὡς δυνατῶν βασιλέων ἐξετάσαι, εἰ ἀληθῶς ταῦτα δεδιδάγμεθα καὶ διδάσκομεν. Βραχεῖς δὲ καὶ σύντομοι παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι γεγόνασιν· οὐ γὰρ σοφιστὴς ὑπῆρχεν, ἀλλὰ δύναμις θεοῦ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἦν.*

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be the same as the only begotten Son of God, this excellent man is not sufficiently careful to distinguish the light of natural conscience from the light of grace, and gave unwarily a handle to mystics and heretics, or those Platonizing Christians who incorporated their doctrine of the Τὸ ἕν with the Gospel. If I mistake not (says MILNER) Justin was the first sincere Christian who was seduced by human philosophy to adulterate the Gospel, though in a small degree."—*History, Cent.* II.

[1] See note at sect. 13.

22. Υἱὸς δὲ θεοῦ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λεγόμενος, εἰ καὶ κοινῶς μόνον ἄνθρωπος, διὰ σοφίαν ἄξιος υἱὸς θεοῦ λέγεσθαι· πατέρα γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε πάντες συγγραφεῖς τὸν θεὸν καλοῦσιν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδίως παρὰ τὴν κοινὴν γένεσιν γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λέγομεν λόγον θεοῦ, ὡς προέφημεν, κοινὸν τοῦτο ἔστω ὑμῖν τοῖν τὸν Ἑρμῆν λόγον τὸν παρὰ θεοῦ ἀγγελτικὸν λέγουσιν. Εἰ δὲ αἰτιάσαιτό τις ἐσταυρῶσθαι αὐτόν, καί τοῦτο κοινὸν τοῖς προκατηριθμημένοις παθοῦσιν υἱοῖς καθ' ὑμᾶς τοῦ Διὸς ὑπάρχει. Ἐκείνων τε γὰρ οὐχ ὅμοια τὰ πάθη τοῦ θανάτου, ἀλλὰ διάφορα ἱστορεῖται, ὥστε μηδὲ τὸ ἴδιον τοῦ πάθους ἧττονα δοκεῖν εἶναι τοῦτον, ἀλλ', ὡς ὑπεσχόμεθα, προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου καὶ κρείττονα ἀποδείξομεν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀποδέδεικται· ὁ γὰρ κρείττων ἐκ τῶν πράξεων φαίνεται. Εἰ δὲ καὶ διὰ παρθένου γεγεννῆσθαι φέρομεν, κοινὸν καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν Περσέα ἔστω ὑμῖν. Ὧι δὲ λέγομεν χωλοὺς καὶ παραλυτικοὺς καὶ ἐκ γενετῆς πονηροὺς ὑγιεῖς πεποιηκέναι αὐτὸν καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνεγεῖραι, ὅμοια τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ γεγενῆσθαι λεγομένοις καὶ ταῦτα φάσκειν δόξομεν.

23. Ἵνα δὲ ἤδη καὶ τοῦτο φανερὸν ὑμῖν γένηται, ὅτι, ὁπόσα λέγομεν μαθόντες παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν προελθόντων αὐτοῦ προφητῶν, μόνα ἀληθῆ ἐστὶ καὶ πρεσβύτερα πάντων τῶν γεγενημένων συγγραφέων, καὶ οὐχὶ διὰ τὸ ταὐτὰ λέγειν αὐτοῖς παραδεχθῆναι ἀξιοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ ἀληθὲς λέγομεν. καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μόνος ἰδίως υἱὸς τῷ θεῷ γεγέννηται, λόγος αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχων καὶ πρωτότοκος[1] καὶ δύναμις, καὶ τῇ βουλῇ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος ταῦτα ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξεν ἐπ' ἀλλαγῇ καὶ ἐπαναγωγῇ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους· πρὶν ἢ ἐν ἀνθρώποις αὐτὸν γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον φθάσαντές τινες διὰ τοὺς προειρημένους κακοὺς δαίμονας, διὰ τῶν ποιητῶν ὡς γενόμενα εἶπον,

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[1] *πρωτότ.*—This seems one of the clearest statements as to the Logos, and the two natures. A like statement, approaching to Nicene exactness, occurs in Apol. II., sect. 6—*ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἐκείνου, ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱός, ὁ λόγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ συνὼν καὶ γεννώμενος, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἔκτισε καὶ ἐκόσμησε.* ORIGEN, who is thought to have brought out more fully the eternal personality of the Son; yet, in his too anxious desire to reconcile the sacred mystery to his philosophy, held that the Son did not proceed from the essence of the Father, but as a constant ray of the divine glory, was brought forth, *i.e.*, created or begotten by the will of God, and from eternity. (The Student may here consult Hill's System, p. 377.)

ἃ μυθοποιήσαντες ἔφησαν, ὃν τρόπον καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενα δύσφημα καὶ ἀσεβῆ ἔργα ἐνήργησαν, ὧν οὐδεὶς μάρτυς οὐδὲ ἀπόδειξίς ἐστι, τοῦτον ἔλεγχον ποιησόμεθα.

33. Καὶ πάλιν ὡς αὐτολεξεὶ διὰ παρθένου μὲν τεχθησόμενος διὰ τοῦ Ἠσαΐου προεφητεύθη, ἀκούσατε. Ἐλέχθη δὲ οὕτως· Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρί ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ ἐροῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός. Ἃ γὰρ ἦν ἄπιστα καὶ ἀδύνατα νομιζόμενα παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γενήσεσθαι, ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς προεμήνυσε διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος μέλλειν γίνεσθαι, ἵν' ὅταν γένηται μὴ ἀπιστηθῇ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ προειρῆσθαι πιστευθῇ. Ὅπως δὲ μή τινες μὴ νοήσαντες τὴν δεδηλωμένην προφητείαν ἐγκαλέσωσιν ἡμῖν, ἅπερ ἐνεκαλέσαμεν τοῖς ποιηταῖς, εἰποῦσιν ἀφροδισίων χάριν ἐληλυθέναι ἐπὶ γυναῖκας τὸν Δία, διασαφῆσαι τοὺς λόγους πειρασώμεθα. Τὸ οὖν· Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει, σημαίνει οὐ συνουσιασθεῖσαν τὴν παρθένον συλλαβεῖν. Εἰ γὰρ ἐσυνουσιάσθη ὑπὸ ὁτουοῦν, οὐκ ἔτι ἦν παρθένος· ἀλλὰ δύναμις θεοῦ ἐπελθοῦσα τῇ παρθένῳ ἐπεσκίασαν αὐτήν, καὶ κυοφορῆσαι παρθένον οὖσαν πεποίηκε. Καὶ ὁ ἀποσταλεὶς καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν παρθένον κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ ἄγγελος θεοῦ εὐηγγελίσατο αὐτὴν εἰπών· Ἰδοὺ συλλήψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ τέξῃ υἱόν, καὶ υἱὸς ὑψίστου κληθήσεται, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδίδαξαν, οἷς ἐπιστεύσαμεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ διὰ Ἠσαΐου τοῦ προδεδηλωμένου τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα τοῦτον γενησόμενον ὡς προεμηνύομεν ἔφη. Τὸ πνεῦμα οὖν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο νοῆσαι θέμις, ἢ τὸν λόγον,[1] ὃς καὶ πρωτότοκος τῷ θεῷ ἐστί, ὡς Μωσῆς ὁ προδεδηλωμένος προφήτης ἐμήνυσε. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐλθὸν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον καὶ ἐπισκιάσαν οὐ διὰ συνουσίας, ἀλλὰ διὰ δυνάμεως, ἐγκύμονα κατέστησε. Τὸ δὲ Ἰησοῦς, ὄνομα τῇ Ἑβραΐδι φωνῇ, σωτὴρ τῇ Ἑλληνίδι διαλέκτῳ δηλοῖ. Ὅθεν καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος πρὸς τὴν παρθένον εἶπε· Καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν. αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ

[1] Some confounding of the personalities here.

τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. Ὅτι δὲ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ θεοφοροῦνται οἱ προφητεύοντες εἰ μὴ λόγῳ θείῳ, καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνω, φήσετε.

35. * * * * * Καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλοις λόγοις δι' ἑτέρου προφήτου λέγει· Αὐτοὶ ὤρυξάν μοῦ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας, καὶ ἔβαλον κλῆρον ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Δαβὶδ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ προφήτης, ὁ εἰπὼν ταῦτα, οὐδὲν τούτων ἔπαθεν· Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστὸς ἐξετάθη τὰς χεῖρας, σταυρωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀντιλεγόντων αὐτῷ καὶ φασκόντων μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν Χριστόν. Καὶ γάρ, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης, διασύροντες αὐτὸν ἐκάθισαν ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ εἶπον· Κρῖνον ἡμῖν. Τὸ δέ· Ὤρυξάν μου χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, ἐξήγησις τῶν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ παγέντων ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ ἥλων ἦν. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ σταυρῶσαι αὐτὸν ἔβαλον κλῆρον ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐμερίσαντο ἑαυτοῖς οἱ σταυρώσαντες αὐτόν. Καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέγονε, δύνασθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἄκτων.[1]

43. Ὅπως δὲ μή τινες ἐκ τῶν προλελεγμένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν δοξάσωσι, καθ' εἱμαρμένης ἀνάγκην φάσκειν ἡμᾶς τὰ γινόμενα γίνεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ προειπεῖν προεγνωσμένα, καὶ τοῦτο διαλύομεν. Τὰς τιμωρίας καὶ τὰς κολάσεις καὶ τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἀμοιβὰς κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πράξεων ἑκάστου ἀποδίδοσθαι διὰ τῶν προφητῶν μαθόντες, καὶ ἀληθὲς ἀποφαινόμεθα. Ἐπεὶ εἰ μὴ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καθ' εἱμαρμένην πάντα γίνεται, οὔτε τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ὅλως. Εἰ γὰρ εἵμαρται τόνδε τινὰ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ τόνδε φαῦλον, οὔθ' οὗτος ἀπόδεκτος οὔδ' ἐκεῖνος μεμπτέος. Καὶ αὖ, εἰ μὴ προαιρέσει ἐλευθέρᾳ πρὸς τὸ φεύγειν τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ αἱρεῖσθαι τὰ καλὰ δύναμιν ἔχει τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος, ἀναίτιόν ἐστι τῶν ὁπωσδήποτε πραττομένων. Ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐλευθέρᾳ προαιρέσει καὶ κατορθοῖ καὶ σφάλλεται, οὕτως ἀποδείκνυμεν. Τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν

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[1] ἄκτων.—Justin refers here, as Tertullian also does in his Apology, to certain "Acts of Pilate," or records transmitted to Tiberius—a document which Lardner inclines to regard as authentic; others doubt, as Lord Hailes, who observes that Justin refers to these acts, not as if he had read or considered them, but merely from a notion that they might have existed, and might have contained circumstances favourable to his argument. Neither does Tertullian say that he had seen them.—*Remains of Christian Antiq.*

μετέλευσιν ποιούμενον ὁρῶμεν. Εἰ δὲ εἵμαρτο ἢ φαῦλον ἢ σπουδαῖον εἶναι, οὐκ ἄν ποτε τῶν ἐναντίων δεκτικὸς ἦν καὶ πλειστάκις μετετίθετο· ἀλλ' οὐδ' οἱ μὲν ἦσαν σπουδαῖοι, οἱ δὲ φαῦλοι, ἐπεὶ τὴν εἱμαρμένην αἰτίαν φαύλων καὶ ἐναντία ἑαυτῇ πράττουσαν ἀποφαινόμεθα,[1] ἢ ἐκεῖνο τὸ προειρημένον δόξαι ἀληθὲς εἶναι, ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀρετὴ οὐδὲ κακία, ἀλλὰ δόξῃ μόνον ἢ ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακὰ νομίζεται, ἥπερ, ὡς δείκνυσιν ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος, μεγίστη ἀσέβεια καὶ ἀδικία ἐστίν. Ἀλλ' εἱμαρμένην φαμὲν ἀπαράβατον ταύτην εἶναι, τοῖς τὰ καλὰ ἐκλεγομένοις τὰ ἄξια ἐπιτίμια, καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίως τὰ ἐναντία τὰ ἄξια ἐπίχειρα. Οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα, οἷον δένδρα καὶ τετράποδα, μηδὲν δυνάμενα προαιρέσει πράττειν, ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν ἄξιος ἀμοιβῆς ἢ ἐπαίνου, οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἑλόμενος τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο γενόμενος, οὐδ', εἰ κακὸς ὑπῆρχε, δικαίως κολάσεως ἐτύγχανεν, οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τοιοῦτος ὤν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν δυνάμενος εἶναι ἕτερον παρ' ὃ ἐγεγόνει.

44. Ἐδίδαξε δὲ ἡμᾶς ταῦτα τὸ ἅγιον προφητικὸν πνεῦμα, διὰ Μωσέως φῆσαν[2] * * * * * * * Καὶ πάντα ὅσα περὶ ἀθανασίας ψυχῆς ἢ τιμωριῶν τῶν μετὰ θάνατον ἢ θεωρίας οὐρανίων ἢ τῶν ὁμοίων δογμάτων καὶ φιλόσοφοι καὶ ποιηταὶ ἔφασαν, παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβόντες καὶ νοῆσαι δεδύνηνται καὶ ἐξηγήσαντο. Ὅθεν παρὰ πᾶσι σπέρματα[2] ἀληθείας δοκεῖ εἶναι· ἐλέγχονται δὲ μὴ ἀκριβῶς νοήσαντες, ὅταν ἐναντία αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς λέγωσιν. Ὥστε ὅ φαμεν, πεπροφητεῦσθαι τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι, οὐ διὰ τὸ εἱμαρμένης ἀνάγκῃ πράττεσθαι λέγομεν, ἀλλὰ προγνώστου τοῦ θεοῦ ὄντος τῶν μελλόντων ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πραχθήσεσθαι, καὶ δόγματος ὄντος παρ' αὐτῶν κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πράξεων ἕκαστον ἀμείψεσθαι μέλλοντα τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πραττομένων ἀπαντήσεσθαι διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος προλέγει, εἰς ἐπίτασιν καὶ ἀνάμνησιν ἀεὶ ἄγων τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, δεικνὺς ὅτι καὶ μέλον ἐστὶν αὐτῷ καὶ προνοεῖται αὐτῶν. Κατ' ἐνέργειαν δὲ

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[1] Another reading is ἀποφαινοίμεθα.

[2] See note at sect. 11, Dial.

τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων θάνατος ὡρίσθη κατὰ τῶν τὰς Ὑστάσπου ἢ Σιβύλλης ἢ τῶν προφητῶν βίβλους ἀναγινωσκόντων, ὅπως διὰ τοῦ φόβου ἀποστρέψωσιν ἐντυγχάνοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν καλῶν γνῶσιν λαβεῖν, αὐτοῖς δὲ δουλεύοντας κατέχωσιν· ὅπερ εἰς τέλος οὐκ ἴσχυσαν πρᾶξαι. Ἀφόβως μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐντυγχάνομεν αὐταῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῖν, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν φέρομεν, ἐπιστάμενοι πᾶσιν εὐάρεστα φανήσεσθαι. Κἂν ὀλίγους δὲ πείσωμεν, τὰ μέγιστα κερδήσαντες ἐσόμεθα· ὡς γεωργοὶ γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ παρὰ τοῦ δεσπόζοντος τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἕξομεν.

61. Ὃν τρόπον δὲ καὶ ἀνεθήκαμεν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ καινοποιηθέντες διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐξηγησόμεθα, ὅπως μὴ τοῦτο παραλιπόντες δόξωμεν πονηρεύειν τι ἐν τῇ ἐξηγήσει. Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὔχεσθαί τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἡμῶν συνευχομένων καὶ συννηστευόντων αὐτοῖς. Ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστί, καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννῶνται· ἐπ' ὀνόματος γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τότε λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται.* * * * * * * ὅπως μὴ ἀνάγκης τέκνα μηδὲ ἀγνοίας μένωμεν, ἀλλὰ προαιρέσεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης, ἀφέσεώς τε ἁμαρτιῶν ὑπὲρ ὧν προημάρτομεν τύχωμεν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, ἐπονομάζεται τῷ ἑλομένῳ ἀναγεννηθῆναι καὶ μετανοήσαντι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου Θεοῦ ὄνομα, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπιλέγοντος τοῦ τὸν λουσόμενον ἄγοντος ἐπὶ τὸ λουτρόν· ὄνομα γὰρ τῷ ἀῤῥήτῳ θεῷ οὐδεὶς ἔχει εἰπεῖν· εἰ δέ τις τολμήσειεν εἶναι λέγειν, μέμηνε τὴν ἄσωτον μανίαν. Καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λουτρὸν φωτισμός, ὡς φωτιζομένων τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ταῦτα μανθανόντων. Καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματος δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, του σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματος πνεύματος ἁγίου, ὃ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν προεκήρυξε τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πάντα, ὁ φωτιζόμενος[1] λούεται.

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[1] *φωτιζόμενος, i.e.*, baptizandus. Baptizatus autem vocatur *φωτισθείς*, sect 65.—OTTO. The early writers, Greek and Latin, often apply this

63. Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ πάντες καὶ νῦν διδάσκουσι τὸν ἀνωνόμαστον θεὸν λελαληκέναι τῷ Μωσεῖ, ὅθεν τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προμεμηνυμένου προφήτου ἐλέγχον αὐτούς, ὡς προεγράψαμεν, εἶπεν· Ἔγνω βοῦς τὸν κτησάμενον καὶ ὄνος τὴν φάτνην τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ, Ἰσραὴλ δέ με οὐκ ἔγνω καὶ ὁ λαός με οὐ συνῆκε. Καὶ Ἰησοῦς δὲ ὁ Χριστός, ὅτι οὐκ ἔγνωσαν Ἰουδαῖοι τί πατὴρ καὶ τί υἱός, ὁμοίως ἐλέγχων αὐτοὺς καὶ αὐτὸς εἶπεν· Οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ οἷς ἂν ἀποκαλύψῃ ὁ υἱός. Ὁ λόγος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ὡς προέφημεν. Καὶ ἄγγελος δὲ καλεῖταί καὶ ἀπόστολος· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀπαγγέλλει ὅσα δεῖ γνωσθῆναι, καὶ ἀποστέλλεται μηνύσων ὅσα ἀγγέλλεται, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν εἶπεν· Ὁ ἐμοῦ ἀκούων, ἀκούει τοῦ ἀποστείλαντός με. Καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Μωυσέως δὲ συγγραμμάτων φανερὸν τοῦτο γενήσεται. Λέλεκται δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς οὕτως· Καὶ ἐλάλησε Μωσεῖ ἄγγελος θεοῦ ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς ἐκ τῆς βάτου καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν, θεὸς Ἀβραάμ, θεὸς Ἰσαάκ, θεὸς Ἰακώβ, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου, Κάτελθε εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐξάγαγε τὸν λαόν μου. Τὰ δ' ἑπόμενα ἐξ ἐκείνων βουλόμενοι μαθεῖν δύνασθε· οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν ἐν τούτοις ἀναγράψαι πάντα. Ἀλλ' εἰς ἀπόδειξιν γεγόνασιν οἵδε οἱ λόγοι, ὅτι υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός ἐστι, πρότερον λόγος ὤν, καὶ ἐν ἰδέᾳ πυρὸς ποτὲ φανείς, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐν εἰκόνι ἀσωμάτων·[1] νῦν δὲ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος ὑπέμεινε καὶ παθεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸν ἐνήργησαν οἱ δαίμονες διατεθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνοήτων Ἰουδαίων. Οἵτινες ἔχοντες ῥητῶς εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς Μωσέως συντάγμασι· Καὶ ἐλάλησεν ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ Μωσεῖ ἐν πυρὶ φλογὸς ἐν βάτῳ καὶ

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word, or "illumino" to baptism. Greg. Ny. says, *τῷ βαπτίσματι φωτίζεσθαι*, to be illuminated with the light of baptism. Clement of Alexandria, *φωτισμὸς ἡ μαθητεία κέκληται.* The council of Laodicea appoints (Can. 46) *ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς φωτιζομένους, τὴν πίστιν ἐκμανθάνειν*, on which Zonaras commenting says, "*Κελεύει, τοὺς φωτιζομένους, ἤτοι τοὺς πρὸς τὸ φώτισμα ἑτοιμαζομένους καὶ κατηχουμένους, τὸ μυστήριον τῆς πίστεως ἐκμανθάνειν.*" Dionysius (Areop.) as quoted by SUICER, puts illumination before baptism: "*Δεῖ φωτίζεσθαι τῇ γνώσει τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν τὰ περὶ Θεογνωσίας δόγματα, καὶ τότε τελειοῦσθαι τῷ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας λουτρῷ.* Doubtless, we see very early the outward sign identified with the inward grace. So of *regeneration* in this same section.

[1] *ἀσωμάτων*—angels.

εἶπεν· Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν, ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ, τὸν τῶν ὅλων πατέρα καὶ δημιουργὸν τὸν ταῦτα εἰπόντα λέγουσιν εἶναι. Ὅθεν καὶ τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα ἐλέγχον αὐτοὺς εἶπεν· Ἰσραὴλ δέ με οὐκ ἔγνω, καὶ ὁ λαός με οὐ συνῆκε. Καὶ πάλιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὡς ἐδηλώσαμεν, παρ' αὐτοῖς ὢν εἶπεν· Οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ οἷς ἂν ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ. Ἰουδαῖοι οὖν ἡγησάμενοι ἀεὶ τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὅλων λελαληκέναι τῷ Μωσεῖ, τοῦ λαλήσαντος αὐτῷ ὄντος υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ ἄγγελος καὶ ἀπόστολος κέκληται, δικαίως ἐλέγχονται καὶ διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς οὔτε τὸν πατέρα οὔτε τὸν υἱὸν ἔγνωσαν. Οἱ γὰρ τὸν υἱὸν πατέρα φάσκοντες εἶναι, ἐλέγχονται μήτε τὸν πατέρα ἐπιστάμενοι, μήθ' ὅτι ἐστὶν υἱὸς τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων γινώσκοντες· ὃς καὶ λόγος πρωτότοκος ὢν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεὸς ὑπάρχει.

65. Ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τὸ οὕτως λοῦσαι[1] τὸν πεπεισμένον καὶ συγκατατεθειμένον ἐπὶ τοὺς λεγομένους ἀδελφοὺς ἄγομεν, ἔνθα συνηγμένοι εἰσὶ, κοινὰς εὐχὰς ποιησόμενοι ὑπέρ τε ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοῦ φωτισθέντος[2] καὶ ἄλλων πανταχοῦ πάντων εὐτόνως, ὅπως, καταξιωθῶμεν τὰ ἀληθῆ μαθόντες καὶ δι' ἔργων ἀγαθοὶ πολιτευταὶ καὶ φύλακες τῶν ἐντεταλμένων εὑρεθῆναι, ὅπως τὴν αἰώνιον σωτηρίαν σωθῶμεν. Ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμεθα παυσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν. Ἔπειτα προσφέρεται[3] τῷ προεστῶτι[4] τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ

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[1] λοῦσαι, *i.e.* after the baptism with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as described in section 61.

[2] Baptism, called *φωτισμός*. See note at sect. 61.

[3] *προσφορά* came to denote the Lord's Supper thus: the members of the church brought bread and wine as free gifts, from which were taken the elements for the celebration of the eucharist. These gifts were regarded as the spiritual thank offerings of the Christians. The idea of a sacrifice in the Supper of the Lord was at first barely symbolical; and originally this idea had no reference to the sacrifice of Christ.—NEANDER's Church Hist., sect. iii. The term may be taken here in its simplest sense.

[4] *προεστῶτι*—the presiding pastor. The term is sometimes in early writings, as here, applied to the minister who dispenses the ordinances, sometimes to the bishop in distinction from the pastor. IRENÆUS, a little later, applies it sometimes in the general, sometimes in the specific sense. The word as occurring here came into the discussion between Archbishop WHITGIFT and CARTWRIGHT. The former explained the word of the bishop or chief presbyter, though admitting that the term is appiied in Tim. v., 17, to the elders or presbyters in general. CARTWRIGHT's argument is, "If this

κράματος,[1] καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται· οὗ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων· Ἀμήν. Τὸ δὲ ἀμὴν τῇ Ἑβραΐδι φωνῇ τὸ γένοιτο σημαίνει. Εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος, καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, οἱ καλούμενοι παρ᾽ ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδόασιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι.[2]

66. Καὶ ἡ τροφὴ αὕτη καλεῖται παρ᾽ ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία, ἧς οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μετασχεῖν ἐξόν ἐστιν, ἢ τῷ πιστεύοντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ δεδιδαγμένα ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν, καὶ λουσαμένῳ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν λουτρὸν, καὶ οὕτως βιοῦντι ὡς ὁ Χριστός παρέδωκεν. Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ σάρκα

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place of JUSTIN make for an archbishop, then instead of an archbishop in every province, we shall have one in every congregation. For JUSTIN declareth there the liturgy or manner of serving God that was in every church used of the Christians. And I pray you, let it be considered what is the office of that προεστὼς * * he placeth his office to be in preaching, in conceiving prayers, in ministering of the sacraments: of any commandment which he had over the rest of the ministry he maketh not one word. It may be that the same might have the pre-eminence of calling the rest together, and propounding the matter to the rest of the company, as is before declared. * * If you had read the whole treatise, you should have found that he was προεστώς of the people; for this is written in the same apology—ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος." The able Puritan champion adds, "and albeit things were in great purity in the days JUSTIN lived, yet, as there was in other things which appear in his works, and even in the ministration of the sacraments spoken of in that place, corruption, in that they mingled water and wine together; so even in the ministry, there began to peep out something which went from the simplicity of the Gospel, as that the name of προεστώς, which was common to the elders with the ministers of the word, was, as it seemeth, appropriated unto one."

[1] κράματος—explained in section 67—ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος. Particula καὶ, ante κράματος, est epexegetice dicta: calix aquæ et quidem vini aquâ mixti. Trollopius solvit: ὕδατος οἴνῳ κεκραμμένου.—OTTO. An ancient usage, which was possibly merely at first a compliance with the eastern custom of using wine thus diluted, but soon had mystery attached to it.

[2] ἀποφέρουσι.—Persons who from sickness or other causes were unable to attend had portions of the consecrated bread sent to them. It is also noticed in Irenæus and Eusebius that the Presbyters of one church sent to another, in token of fellowship. The practice was discouraged by the council of Laodicea, as also the having the agapæ in churches.

καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτου εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν[1] *τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σάρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι. Οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, οὕτως· παρέδωκαν ἐντετάλθαι αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, λαβόντα ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου, τουτέστι τὸ σῶμά μου· καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὁμοίως λαβὸντα καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτό ἐστι αἷμά μου, καὶ μόνοις αὐτοῖς μεταδοῦναι. Ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Μίθρα μυστηρίοις παρέδωκαν γίνεσθαι μιμησάμενοι οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες· ὅτι γὰρ ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος τίθεται ἐν ταῖς τοῦ μυουμένου τελεταῖς μετ' ἐπιλόγων τινῶν, ἢ ἐπίστασθε ἢ μαθεῖν δύνασθε.*

67. *Ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα λοιπὸν ἀεὶ τούτων ἀλλήλους ἀναμιμνήσκομεν· καὶ οἱ ἔχοντες τοῖς λειπομένοις πᾶσιν ἐπικουροῦμεν, καὶ σύνεσμεν ἀλλήλοις ἀεί.*[2] *Ἐπὶ πᾶσί τε οἷς προσφερόμεθα εὐλογοῦμεν τον ποιητὴν τῶν πάντων διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ διὰ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου. Καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου*[3] *λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ*

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[1] *μεταβολὴν.*—This word was early applied to the Lord's Supper, but in a figurative sense. It was also applied later in this figurative sense to the baptismal water.—GIESELER II., 47. The bread was *changed* from a common to a spiritual use. We see no adoration of the host. It is an ordinance of thanksgiving. No notice here of the agapæ as connected with the Lord's Supper. Though early found together, as at Corinth, they may now have been separated, owing to irregularities, or may never have been united in the churches Justin had in view.—NEANDER. For a description of the *ἀγαπη*, as observed afterwards, see Tertull. Apol., 39.

[2] In the former section JUSTIN states that the eucharist was connected with the baptism of converts; now he exhibits the mode of worship at their regular weekly assembling.

[3] *ἡλίου ἡμέρα.*—An interesting proof of the first day, as Lord's day, being recognised in the second century: still more distinctly called Lord's day in a letter of DIONYSIUS of Corinth; see EUSEBIUS. The fathers generally called it Lord's day. The other name probably given in compliance with the usual mode of speech—though this also led to evil. TERTULLIAN had to defend the Christians against the aspersion that they worshipped the sun. JEROME says, the day was called Sunday because the Sun of Righteousness arose on that day. JUSTIN gives a like reason here for meeting on the first day of the week. The fathers were not without care to guard on such matters. It has been thought that their reason for calling Friday the day before Saturday (see next page) was to show how they detested the worship of Venus, to which Friday was dedicated.—GRABE; RIDGLEY.

τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα[1] τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ. Εἶτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος ὁ προεστὼς[2] διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται. Ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν. Καί, ὡς προέφημεν, παυσαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις[3] αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων τὸ ἀμήν· καὶ ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἑκάστῳ γίνεται καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπεται. Οἱ εὐποροῦντες δὲ καὶ βουλόμενοι κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὃ βούλεται δίδωσι, καὶ τὸ συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προεστῶτι ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικουρεῖ ὀρφανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις, καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόσον ἢ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν λειπομένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς οὖσι, καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις οὖσι ξένοις, καὶ ἁπλῶς πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν χρείᾳ οὖσι κηδεμὼν γίνεται. Τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα, ἐπειδὴ πρώτη ἐστὶν ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ ὁ θεὸς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρέψας κόσμον ἐποίησε. καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη· τῇ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς κρονικῆς[4] ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν, καὶ τῇ μετὰ τὴν κρονικήν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡλίου ἡμέρα, φανεὶς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ μαθηταῖς ἐδίδαξε ταῦτα, ἅπερ εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ ὑμῖν ἀνεδώκαμεν.

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[1] *ἀπομνημονεύματα.*—The received Gospels, as explained in section 66.

[2] *ὁ προεστὼς εὐχας*, &c.—"Vain," says Dr. Owen, "is the pretence of some that in the primitive times they consecrated the elements by the repetition of the Lord's Prayer only." In proceeding to the eucharist, he observes, the presiding elder or bishop—for in this church Justin mentions only two sorts of offices, president and deacon—prayed at large, giving thanks to God. The whole simple Sabbath service consisted of prayer first; then reading of the scriptures and exhortation; then the consecration of the eucharist; then prayer again and the people's loud assent or acclaim. Notice is also taken of the kiss of charity, and of the collection for the poor widows, orphans, strangers, and captives. Praise, of course, as Pliny to Trajan describes—and see also sect. 13 of this Apology—*αἰνοῦντες—ὕμνους*, &c.

[3] *ὅση δύναμις.*—This, as also a like expression in Tertullian, has not been overlooked in the argument against fixed liturgies.—Owen on Churches; Dick's Theology, Lect. 94. The adoption of Liturgies belongs to the *fourth* century.—Gieseler.

[4] See note 3 of preceding page.

68. Καὶ εἰ μὲν δοκεῖ ὑμῖν λογου καὶ ἀληθείας ἔχεσθαι, τιμήσατε αὐτά, εἰ δὲ λῆρος ὑμῖν δοκεῖ, ὡς ληρωδῶν πραγμάτων καταφρονήσατε, καὶ μὴ ὡς κατ' ἐχθρῶν κατὰ τῶν μηδὲν ἀδικούντων θάνατον ὁρίζετε. Προλέγομεν γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκφεύξεσθε τὴν ἐσομένην τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσιν· ἐὰν ἐπιμένητε τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπιβοήσομεν· Ὁ φίλον τῷ θεῷ, τοῦτο γενέσθω. Καὶ ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ επιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ πατρός ὑμῶν, ἔχοντες ἀπαιτεῖν ὑμᾶς καθὰ ἠξιώσαμεν κελεῦσαι τὰς κρίσεις γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ κεκρῖσθαι τοῦτο ὑπὸ Ἀδριανοῦ μᾶλλον ἠξιώσαμεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι δίκαια ἀξιοῦν τὴν προσφώνησιν καὶ ἐξήγησιν πεποιήμεθα. Ὑπετάξαμεν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς Ἀδριανοῦ τὸ ἀντίγραφον, ἵνα καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἀληθεύειν ἡμᾶς γνωρίζητε. Καὶ ἔστι τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦτο.

[1] Exemplum epistolae Imperatoris Adriani ad Minucium Fundanum Proconsulem Asiae.

Accepi literas ad me scriptas a decessore tuo Serenio Graniano clarissimo viro: et non placet mihi relationem silentio praeterire, ne et innoxii perturbentur, et calumniatoribus latrocinandi tribuatur occasio. Itaque si evidenter provinciales huic petitioni suae adesse valent adversum Christianos, ut pro tribunali eos in aliquo arguant, hoc eis exequi non prohibeo. Precibus autem in hoc solis et adclamationibus[2] uti, eis non permitto. Etenim multo aequius est, si quis volet accusare, te cognoscere de objectis. Si quis igitur accusat et probat adversum leges quicquam agere memoratos homines, pro merito peccatorum etiam supplicia statues. Illud mehercle magnopere curabis, ut, si quis calumniae gratia quenquam horum postulaverit reum, in hunc pro sui nequitia suppliciis saevērioribus vindices.

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[1] On this law of Adrian, and the subsequent policy of Aurelius and Severus towards the Christians, see MOSHEIM, I. vol., cent. ii.; or NEANDER, sect. I.

[2] *Adclam.*—referring, it is thought, to the cries of the populace in the amphitheatre: "*the Christians to the lions!*" So, *Precibus*—requests or demands for their being brought out.—See TERTULLIAN.

VI. IRENÆUS.

Irenæus, by birth a Grecian, was in charge of the church at Lyons from about 170 till early in the third century. He had been an attached disciple of the sainted Polycarp of Smyrna, and is said to have been sent by him to preach the Gospel among the Gauls. After for a time assisting Pothinus, the venerable pastor at Lyons, who, while bending under years, had shared in the rigorous treatment of the church there, he succeeded him as presiding presbyter or bishop. The labours of Irenæus in Gaul were attended with great success ; Lyons became a city of Christian converts. It is said that he at length suffered death under the emperor Severus, though on this historians are not agreed. Milner believes it after Gregory of Tours ; Lardner and Cave conclude otherwise, from the omission of the fact by Eusebius. He at least endured much suffering, as well as rendered laborious service in Christ's cause.

Irenæus is best known by his writings against "the heresies." His works are for the most part only preserved in a Latin translation, through which, however, though somewhat barbarous, the eloquence of this father, as the translator of Mosheim remarks, still shines. His first book on the heresies remains in the Greek language, with other occasional pieces preserved by Eusebius and Epiphanius.

We extract a valuable document—a creed it may be termed, in which he embodies the orthodox faith, as received by the churches in those times ; also his short description of

some of the Gnostics and Ebionites. These documents are valuable to the student—enabling him to meet the misrepresentations of such as Priestley or Bauer on the opinions of the early church, as having been Unitarian, or "Monarchian."

Irenæus having also done good service by allaying undue heats in the controversy concerning the time of observing Easter, we insert a fragment of his letter to the imperious Victor, which is preserved in Greek. We extract also his letter to Florinus, one who had been, like himself, a pupil of Polycarp, but who had fallen away into the errors of Cerdo, Valentinus, and others, on the two principles, or the origin of evil. The fragment is interesting, were it but for its graphic reference to the venerated pastor of Smyrna, of whose instructions Irenæus retained so deep an impression.

Finally, as appeals have been made to this father on the subject of the Romish primacy, and apostolic descent, we have inserted some of the expressions cited on these questions, and have found room for an argument of the admirable Chillingworth, against the Romish interpretation of the "omnem convenire ecclesiam."

The extracts on the faith or creed of the church and on the Gnostic errors are from Books I. and V. of the work "against Heresies." That on the tradition and succession is from Book III. The fragments of letters are to be found in Eusebius' Eccles. H., Book V.; and are appended to Irenæus' works, fol. Oxford, 1702.

ΕΙΡΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ.

Ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἐκκλησία, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη,[1] παρὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβοῦσα τὴν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, πίστιν· καὶ εἰς ἕνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας· καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυχὸς τὰς οἰκονομίας, καὶ τὰς ἐλεύσεις, καὶ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννησιν, καὶ τὸ πάθος, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ ἠγαπημένου Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Πατρὸς παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἀναστῆσαι πᾶσαν σάρκα πάσης ἀνθρωπότητος, ἵνα Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, καὶ Θεῷ, καὶ σωτῆρι, καὶ βασιλεῖ, κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ ἀοράτου, πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσηται αὐτῷ, καὶ κρίσιν δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιήσηται· τὰ μὲν πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, καὶ ἀγγέλους παραβεβηκότας, καὶ ἐν ἀποστασίᾳ γεγονότας, καὶ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, καὶ ἀδίκους, καὶ ἀνόμους, καὶ βλασφήμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψῃ· τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις, καὶ ὁσίοις, καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τετηρηκόσι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ αὐτοῦ διαμεμενηκόσι τοῖς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ μετανοίας, ζωὴν χαρισάμενος, ἀφθαρσίαν δωρήσηται, καὶ δόξαν αἰωνίαν περιποιήσῃ.

[1] An interesting proof here of the rapid spread of christianity.

QUALIS EST DOCTRINA CERINTHI.

Et Cerinthus autem quidam in Asia, non à primo Deo factum esse mundum docuit, sed à virtute quadam valde separata, et distante ab ea principalitate quæ est super universa, et ignorante eum qui est super omnia Deum. Jesum autem subjecit, non ex virgine natum (impossibile enim hoc ei visum est) fuisse autem eum Josephi et Mariæ filium similiter ut reliqui omnes homines, et plus potuisse justitia, et prudentia, et sapientia ab omnibus. Et post baptismum descendisse in eum, ab ea principalitate quæ est super omnia, Christum figurâ columbæ; et tunc annunciasse incognitum Patrem, et virtutes perfecisse; in fine autem revolasse iterum Christum de Jesu, et Jesum passum esse, et resurrexisse: Christum autem impassibilem perseverasse, existentem spiritualem.

ΠΕΡΙ ΚΕΡΔΩΝΟΣ.

Κέρδων δέ τις ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβὼν, καὶ ἐπιδημήσας ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Ὑγίνου, ἔνατον κλῆρον τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἔχοντος, ἐδίδαξε τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν κεκηρυγμένον Θεὸν, μὴ εἶναι πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. τὸν μὲν γὰρ γνωρίζεσθαι· τὸν δὲ ἀγνῶτα εἶναι. καὶ τὸν μὲν δίκαιον, τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχειν.

QUÆ SUNT QUÆ MARCION DOCUERIT.

Succedens autem ei Marcion Ponticus, adampliavit doctrinam, impudoratè blasphemans eum qui à lege et Prophetis annunciatus est Deus, malorum factorem, et bellorum concupiscentem, et inconstantem quoque sententiâ, et contrarium sibi ipsum dicens: Jesum autem ab eo Patre,

qui est super mundi fabricatorem Deum, venientem in Judæam temporibus Pontii Pilati præsidis, qui fuit procurator Tiberii Cæsaris, in hominis forma manifestatum his qui in Judæ erant, dissolventem Prophetas, et Legem, et omnia opera ejus Dei qui mundum fecit, quem et Cosmocratorem dicit. Et super hæc, id quod est secundum Lucam Evangelium circumcidens, et omnia quæ sunt de generatione Domini conscripta auferens, et de doctrina sermonum Domini multa auferens, in quibus manifestissime Conditorem hujus universitatis suum Patrem confitens Dominus conscriptus est; semetipsum esse veraciorem, quàm sunt hi qui Evangelium tradiderunt Apostoli, suasit discipulis suis; non Evangelium, sed particulam Evangelii tradens eis. Similiter autem et Apostoli Pauli epistolas abscidit, auferens quæcunque manifeste dicta sunt ab Apostolo de eo Deo qui mundum fecit, quoniam hic Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et quæcunque ex propheticis memorans Apostolus docuit prænunciantibus adventum Domini. Salutem autem solùm animarum esse futuram, earum quæ ejus doctrinam didicissent; corpus autem, videlicet quoniam à terra sit sumptum, impossibile esse participare salutem. Super blasphemiam autem quæ est in Deum. adjecit et hoc, verè os accipiens, et omnia contrari dicens veritati: Cain et eos qui similes sunt ei, et Sodomitas, et Ægyptios, et similes eis, et omnes omnino gentes, quæ in omni permixtione malignitatis ambulaverunt, salvatas esse à Domino, cum descendisset ad inferos, et accurrissent ei, et in suum assumpsisse regnum; Abel autem et Enoch, et Noe, et reliquos justos, et eos qui sunt erga Abraham Patriarchas, cum omnibus Prophetis, et his qui placuerunt Deo, non participasse salutem, qui in Marcione fuit serpens præconiavit. Quoniam enim sciebant, inquit, Deum suum semper tentantem eos, et tunc tentare eos suspicati, non accurrerunt Jesu, neque crediderunt annunciationi ejus: et propterea remansisse animas eorum apud inferos dixit. Sed huic quidem, quoniam et solus manifestè ausus est circumcidere Scripturas, et impudoratè super omnes obtrectare Deum,

seorsum contradicemus, ex ejus scriptis arguentes eum, et ex iis sermonibus qui apud eum observati sunt, Domini et Apostoli, quibus ipse utitur, eversionem ejus faciemus, præstante Deo.

SOLUS CHRISTUS DIVINA NOS DOCERE, AC REDIMERE, POTUIT:

IDEMQUE, UT NOS REPARARET, NON OPINIONE, SED REIPSA, SPIRITUS SANCTI OPERATIONE EX MARIA VIRGINE CARNEM ASSUMPSIT: ADVERSUS VALENTINI ET EBIONIS VANITATES.

Non enim aliter nos discere poteramus quæ sunt Dei, nisi magister noster, Verbum existens, homo factus fuisset. Neque enim alius poterat enarrare nobis quæ sunt Patris, nisi proprium ipsius Verbum. *Quis enim* alius *cognovit sensum Domini? aut quis* alius *ejus consiliarius factus est?* Neque rursus nos aliter discere poteramus, nisi magistrum nostrum videntes, et per auditum nostrum vocem ejus percipientes, uti imitatores quidem operum, factores autem sermonum ejus facti, communionem habeamus cum ipso, à perfecto, et eô qui est ante omnem conditionem, augmentum accipientes, qui nunc nuper facti sumus à solo optimo et bono. Et ab eo qui habet donationem incorruptibilitatis, in eam quæ est ad eum similitudinem, facti, prædestinati quidem ut essemus, qui nondum eramus, secundum præscientiam Patris, facti autem initium facturæ,[2] accepimus in præcognitis temporibus secundem ministrationem Verbi, qui est perfectus in omnibus, quoniam Verbum potens, et homo verus, sanguine suo rationabiliter redimens nos, redemptionem semetipsum dedit pro his, qui in captivitatem ducti sunt. Et quoniam injustè dominabatur nobis apostasia[1] et cùm naturâ essemus Dei omnipotentis,

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[1] The abstract for concrete,—the Apostate, *i.e.*, the Devil. In book iv., Iren. says, (on Mat. xiii., 25,) "Extunc enim apostata est Angelus hic et inimicus, ex quo zelavit plasma Dei, et inimicum illum Deo facere aggressus est."

[2] See James i., 18.

alienarit nos contra naturam, suos proprios nos faciens discipulos, potens in omnibus Dei Verbum, et non deficiens in suo justitia, juste etiam adversus ipsam conversus est apostasiam, ea quæ sunt sua redimens ab eo, non cum vi, quemadmodum illa initio dominabatur nostri, ea quæ non erant sua insatiabiliter rapiens; sed secundum suadelam, quemadmodum decebat Deum suadentem, et non vim inferentem, accipere quæ vellet, ut neque quod est justum confringeretur, neque antiqua plasmatio Dei deperiret.

Τῷ ἰδίῳ οὖν αἵματι λυτρωσαμένου ἡμᾶς τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ δόντος τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν, καὶ τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀντὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων σαρκῶν.

Suo igitur sanguine redimente nos Domino, et dante animam suam pro nostris carnibus, et effundente Spiritum Patris in adunitionem et communionem Dei et hominum, ad homines quidem deponente Deum per Spiritum, ad Deum autem rursus imponente hominem per suam incarnationem, et firmè et verè in adventu suo donante nobis incorruptelam, per communionem quæ est ad Deum, perierunt omnes hæreticorum doctrinæ. Vani enim sunt qui putativè dicunt eum apparuisse:

Οὐ γὰρ δοκήσει ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑποστάσει ἀληθείας ἐγίνετο· εἰ δὲ μὴ ὢν ἄνθρωπος, ἐφαίνετο ἄνθρωπός, οὔτε ὃ ἦν ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἔμεινε, πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, ἐπεὶ ἀόρατον τὸ πνεῦμα· οὔτε ἀλήθειά τις ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐκεῖνα ἅπερ ἐφαίνετο. προείπομεν δέ, ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ προφῆται προφητικῶς αὐτὸν ἔβλεπον, τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι δι' ὄψεως προφητεύοντες. εἰ οὖν καὶ νῦν τοιοῦτος ἐφάνη, μὴ ὢν ὅπερ ἐφαίνετο, προφητική τις ὀπτασία γέγονε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ δεῖ καὶ ἄλλην ἐκδέχεσθαι παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ, ἐν ᾗ τοιοῦτος ἔσται, οἷος νῦν ὁρᾶται προφητικῶς. ἀπεδείξαμεν δέ, ὅτι τὸ αὐτό ἐστι, δοκήσει λέγειν πεφηνέναι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας εἰληφέναι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν ἀληθῶς σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐσχηκώς. δι' ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐξηγοράσατο, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀρχαίαν πλάσιν τοῦ Ἀδὰμ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνεκεφαλαιώσατο. μάταιοι οὖν οἱ ἀπὸ Βαλεντίνου, τοῦτο δογματίζοντες, ἵνα ἐκβαλῶσι τὴν ζωὴν τῆς σαρκός.

Vani autem et Ebionæi, unitionem Dei et hominis per fidem non recipientes in suam animam, sed in veteri generationis perseverantes fermento; neque intelligere volentes, quoniam Spiritus sanctus advenit in Mariam, et virtus Altissimi obumbravit eam: quapropter et quod generatum est, sanctum est, et filius Altissimi Dei Patris omnium: qui operatus est incarnationem ejus, et novam ostendit generationem; uti quemadmodum per priorem generationem mortem hæreditavimus, sic per generationem hanc hæreditaremus vitam. Reprobant itaque hi commixtionem vini cœlestis, et sola aqua secularis[1] volunt esse, non recipientes Deum ad commixtionem suam: perseverant autem in eo qui victus est, Adam, et projectus est de paradiso, non contemplantes, quoniam quemadmodum ab initio plasmationis nostræ in Adam ea quæ fuit à Deo inspiratio vitæ, unita plasmati, animavit hominem, et animal rationabile ostendit; sic in fine Verbum Patris et Spiritus Dei, adunitus antiquæ substantiæ plasmationis Adæ, viventem et perfectum effecit hominem, capientem perfectum Patrem: ut quemadmodum in animali omnes mortui sumus, sic in spirituali omnes vivificemur. Non enim effugit aliquando Adam manus Dei, ad quas Pater loquens, dicit: *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram.* Et propter hoc in fine non ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex placito Patris manus ejus vivum perfecerunt hominem, uti fiat Adam secundum imaginem et similitudinem Dei.[2]

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΦΛΩΡΙΝΟΝ.

Ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα, Φλωρῖνε, ἵνα πεφεισμένως εἰπώ, οὐκ ἔστιν ὑγιοῦς γνώμης· ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα ἀσύμφωνά ἐστι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, εἰς τὴν μεγίστην ἀσέβειαν περιβάλλοντα τοὺς

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1 "Solam aquam secularem," is the reading of Vossius. The allusion is to the practice of the Ebionites, using only water in the Sacramental cup.

2 A gospel, so called, of the Ebionites, or a history of Christ different from our received gospels, is referred to by Jones (on the New Testament canon). It is supposed to be meant in Paul's words in Gal. i., 6.

πειθομένους αὐτοῖς· ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα οὐδὲ οἱ ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας αἱρετικοὶ[1] ἐτόλμησαν ἀποφήνασθαί ποτε· ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβύτεροι,[2] οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις συμφοιτήσαντες, ὀυ παρέδωκάν σοι. εἶδον γάρ σε παῖς ὢν ἔτι, ἐν τῇ κάτω Ἀσίᾳ παρὰ τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ, λαμπρῶς πράττοντα ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ, καὶ πειρώμενον εὐδοκιμεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ. μᾶλλον γὰρ τὰ τότε διαμνημονεύω τῶν ἔναγχος γινομένων (αἱ γὰρ ἐκ παίδων μαθήσεις συναύξουσαι τῇ ψυχῇ, ἑνοῦνται αὐτῇ) ὥστε με δύνασθαι εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος διελέγετο ὁ μακαριος Πολύκαρπος, καὶ τὰς προόδους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους, καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ βίου, καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἰδέαν, καὶ τὰς διαλέξεις ἃς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τὴν μετὰ Ἰωάννου συναναστροφὴν ὡς ἀπήγγελλε, καὶ τὴν μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἑωρακότων τὸν Κύριον, καὶ ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευε τούς λόγους αὐτῶν· καὶ περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου τίνα ἦν ἃ παρ' ἐκείνων ἀκηκόει, καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ, καὶ περὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας, ὡς παρὰ τῶν αὐτοπτῶν τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ λόγου παρειληφὼς ὁ Πολύκαρπος, ἀπήγγελλε πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς. ταῦτα καὶ τότε διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γεγονὸς σπουδαίως ἤκουον, ὑπομνηματιζόμενος αὐτὰ, οὐκ ἐν χάρτῃ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ καρδίᾳ· καὶ ἀεὶ διὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ γνησίως αὐτὰ ἀναμαρυκῶμαι. καὶ δύναμαι διαμαρτύρασθαι ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἀκηκόει ἐκεῖνος ὁ μακάριος καὶ ἀποστολικὸς πρεσβύτερος, ἀνακράξας ἂν καὶ ἐμφράξας τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες εἰπὼν, Ὦ καλὲ Θεὲ, εἰς οἵους με καιροὺς τετήρηκας, ἵνα τούτων ἀνέχωμαι, πεφεύγοι ἂν καὶ τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος ἢ ἑστὼς, τῶν τοιούτων ἀκηκόει λόγων. καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἐπέστειλεν ἤτοι ταῖς γειτνιώσαις ἐκκλησίαις, ἐπιστηρίζων αὐτὰς, ἢ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τισι, νουθετῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ προτρεπόμενος, δύναται φανερωθῆναι.

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[1] For minute accounts of the Gnostic sects see Mosheim, who mentions Florinus as a Valentinian.—(Cent. II., Part II.)

[2] Apostolic succession recognised as in the Presbyters.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΒΙΚΤΩΡΑ.

Οὐ γὰρ μόνον περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐστιν ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἴδους αὐτοῦ τῆς νηστείας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἴονται μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν ἀυτοὺς νηστεύειν· οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας· οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὥρας, ἡμερινάς τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς, συμμετροῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν. καὶ τοιάυτη μὲν ποικιλία τῶν ἐπιτηρόυντων, οὐ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν γεγονυῖα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν, τῶν παρὰ τὸ ἀκριβὲς, ὡς εἰκὸς, κρατομίτων, τὴν καθ' ἁπλότητα καὶ ἰδιωτισμὸν συνήθειαν εἰς τὸ μετέπειτα πεποιηκότων. καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλαττον πάντες οὗτοι εἰρήνευσάν τε, καὶ εἰρηνεύομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ ἡ διαφωνία, τῆς νηστείας τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστεως συνίστησι. * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Καὶ οἱ πρὸ Σωτῆρος πρεσβύτεροι οἱ προστάντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἧς νῦν ἀφηγῇ, Ἀνίκητον λέγομεν καὶ Πίον, Ὑγῖνόν τε καὶ Τελεσφόρον, καὶ Ξύστον, οὔτε αὐτοὶ ἐτήρησαν, οὔτε τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦς ἐπέτρεπον. καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλαττον αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες, ἐιρήνευον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν ἐν αἷς ἐτηρεῖτο, ἐρχομένοις πρὸς ἀυτοὺς, καίτοι μᾶλλον ἐνάντιον ἦν τὸ τηρεῖν τοῖς μὴ τηροῦσι· καὶ οὐδέποτε διὰ τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο ἀπεβλήθησάν τινες. ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες οἱ πρὸ σοῦ πρεσβύτεροι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν τηροῦσιν ἔπεμπον εὐχαριστίαν. καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου ἐπιδημήσαντος τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Ἀνικήτου, καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν μικρὰ σχόντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐυθὺς εἰρήνευσαν, περὶ τούτου τοῦ κεφαλαίου μὴ φιλεριστήσαντες ἑαυτούς. οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὸν Πολύκαρπον πεῖσαι ἐδύνατο μὴ τηρεῖν, ἅτε μετὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ μαθητοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων οἷς συνδιέτριψεν, ἀεὶ τετηρηκότα· οὔτε μὴν ὁ Πολύκαρπος τὸν Ἀνίκητον ἔπεισε τηρεῖν, λέγοντα τὴν συνήθειαν τῶν τρὸ αὐτου πρεσβυτέρων ὀφείλειν κατέχειν. καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, ἐκοινώνησαν ἑαυτοῖς· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησε τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ, κατ' ἐντροπὴν δηλονότι, καὶ μετ' εἰρήνης ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπηλλάγησαν, πάσης τὴς ἐκκλησίας εἰρήνην ἐχόυντων καὶ τῶν τηρούντων, καὶ τῶν μὴ τηρούντων.[1]

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[1] Besides Irenæus, others asserted the rights of the Eastern Christians, especially Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, who declared in their name, and

DE APOSTOLORUM TRADITIONE, VEL AB APOSTOLIS IN ECCLESIIS EPISCOPORUM SUCCESSIONE.

Traditionem itaque Apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam, in omni Ecclesia adest perspicere omnibus qui vera velint videre, et habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt, [1] neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur. Etenim si recondita mysteria scissent Apostoli, quæ seorsim et latenter ab reliquis perfectos docebant, his vel maximè traderent ea quibus etiam ipsas Ecclesias committebant. Valde enim perfectos et irreprehensibiles in omnibus eos volebant esse, quos et successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes; quibus emendatè agentibus fieret magna utilitas, lapsis autem summa calamitas. Sed quoniam valde longum est, in hoc tali volumine, omnium Ecclesiarum enumerare successiones, maximæ, et antiquissimæ, et omnibus cognitæ, à gloriosissimis duobus Apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ Ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab Apostolis Traditionem, et annunciatam hominibus fidem, per successiones Episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, qui quoque modo vel per sui placentiam malam, vel vanam gloriam, vel per cæcitatem et

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with much spirit and resolution that they would by no means depart, in this matter from the custom handed down to them by their ancestors. Victor, exasperated, broke communion with them. The fact of such protests, and the disregard paid to the threat of ex-communication, prove that the supremacy or absolute authority of the Bishop of Rome was not generally conceded. A good practical writer contrasts the violent disputes between the Eastern and Western Churches as to the time of keeping Easter, with the absence of all controversy between them as to the obligation of the Lord's day—no mean proof of its recognised apostolic warrant. (Rev. R. Walker's Sermons.)

[1] Irenæus' idea of tradition involves not the testimony of a succession of individuals merely, but the ecumenical faith; and, if in one place he seems to speak of a line of Bishops, in another the succession and tradition are by Presbyters. "Quapropter eis qui in Ecclesia sunt, Presbyteris obaudire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab Apostolis, sicut ostendimus: qui cum episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum, secundum placitum Patris acceperunt."—Book iv., ch. 43.

malam sententiam, præterquam oportet colligunt. Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam propter potentiorem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire [1] ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt

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[1] *The Fathers*, you say, *assign Succession as one mark of the true Church*; I confess they did urge Tradition as an Argument of the truth of their Doctrine, and of the falsehood of the contrary: and thus far they agree with you. But now see the difference: They urged it not against all Hereticks that ever should be, but against them that rejected a great part of the Scripture, for no other reason but *because it was repugnant to their Doctrine, and corrupted other parts with their additions and detractions, and perverted the remainder with divers absurd interpretations:* So *Tertullian* not a leaf before the words by you cited. Nay, they urged it against them who *when they were confuted out of Scripture, fell to accuse the Scriptures themselves as if they were not right, and came not from good authority, as if they were various one from another, and as if truth could not be found out of them, by those who know not Tradition, for that it was not delivered in writing,* (they did mean wholly) *but by word of mouth: And that thereupon* Paul *also said, we speak wisdom amongst the perfect.* So *Irenæus* in the very next Chapter before that which you allege. Against these men being thus necessitated to do so, they did urge Tradition, but what or whose Tradition was it? Certainly no other but the joint Tradition of all the Apostolick Churches, with one mouth and one voice teaching the same Doctrine. Or if, for brevity sake, they produce the Tradition of any one Church, yet it is apparent, that, that one was then in conjunction with all the rest; *Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen* testifie as much in the words cited, and St. *Austin* in the place before alleged by me. This Tradition they did urge against these men, and in a time, in comparison of ours, almost contiguous to the Apostles: So near, that one of them, *Irenæus*, was Scholar to one who was Scholar to St. *John* the Apostle; *Tertullian* and *Origen* were not an Age removed from him; and the last of them all little more than an Age from them. Yet after all this, they urged it not as a demonstration, but, only as a very probable argument, far greater than any their Adversaries could oppose against it.

Whereas your great *Achilles* Cardinal *Perron* in *French*; as also his *Noble Translatress*, misled by him, in *English*, knowing that mens resorting to *Rome* would do his cause little service, hath made bold with the *Latin* Tongue, as he does very often with the *Greek*, and rendered *Ad hanc Ecclesiam necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, To this Church it is necessary that every Church should agree*, you have translated it as it should be, *to this Church it is necessary that all Churches resort:* wherein you have shewed more sincerity, and have had more regard to make the Author speak sense. For if he had said, *By shewing the Tradition of the* Roman *Church we confound all Hereticks; for, to this Church, all Churches must agree*; what had this been, but to give for a reason that which was more questionable than the thing in question: as being neither evident in itself, and plainly denied by his adversaries, and not at all proved nor offered to be proved here or elsewhere by *Irenæus.* To speak thus therefore had been weak and ridiculous. But on the other side, if we conceive him to say thus, *You Hereticks, decline a trial of your Doctrine by Scripture, as being corrupted and imperfect, and not fit to determine Controversies without recourse to Tradition, and, instead hereof, you fly for a refuge to a secret Tradition, which you pretend that you received from your Ancestors, and they from the Apostles, certainly, your calumnies against Scripture are most unjust and unreasonable: but yet moreover, assure yourselves, that if you will be tried by Tradition, even by that also you will be overthrown. For our Tradition*

undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui snnt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis Traditio. Fundantes igitur et instruentes beati Apostoli Ecclesiam, Lino episcopatum administrandæ Ecclesiæ tradiderunt. Hujus Lini Paulus in his quæ sunt ad Timotheum

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is far more famous, more constant, and in all respects more credible, than that which you present to. It were easie for me to muster up against you the uninterrupted successions of all the Churches founded by the Apostles, all conspiring in their Testimonies against you: But because it were too long to number up the Successions of all Churches, I will content myself with the Tradition of the most ancient and most glorious Church of Rome, *which alone is sufficient for the confutation and confusion of your Doctrine, as being in credit and authority, as far beyond the Tradition you build upon, as the light of the Sun is beyond the light of a Glow-Worm. For to this Church, by reason it is placed in the Imperial City, whither all mens affairs do necessarily draw them, or by reason of the powerful principality it hath over all the adjacent Churches, there is and always hath been, a necessity of a perpetual recourse of all the faithful round about: who, if there hath been any alteration in the Church of* Rome *could not in all pobability but have observed it. But they to the contrary, have always observed in this Church the very Tradition which came from the Apostles, and no other.* I say, if we conceive his meaning thus, his words will be intelligible and rational: which if instead of *resort* we put in *agree* will be quite lost. Herein therefore we have been beholding to your honesty, which makes me think you did not wittingly falsfie, but only twice in this sentence mistake *Undique* for *Ubique*, and translate it, *every where* and *of what place soever*, instead of *round about*. For that it was necessary *for all the faithful of what place soever to resort to* Rome, is not true. That *the Apostolick Tradition hath always been conserved there from those who are every where*, is not Sense. Now instead of *conservata* read *observata*, as in all probability it should be, and translate *undique* truly *round about*, and then the sense will be both plain and good: for then it must be rendered thus, *For to this Church, by reason of a more powerful principality, there is a necessity that all the Churches, that is, all the faithful round about, should resort, in which the Apostolick Tradition hath been always observed by those who were around about.* * * * * * * * *

But whether you will have it *Observata* or *Conservata*, * * * * * * possibly it may be something to *Irenæus*, but to us, or our cause, it is no way material. For if the rest be rightly translated, neither will *Conservata* afford you any argument against us, nor *Observata* help us to any evasion. For though at the first hearing of the glorious attributes here given, (and that justly) to the Church of *Rome*, *the confounding Hereticks with her Tradition, and saying it is necessary for all Churches to resort to her,* may sound like Arguments for you; yet he that is attentive, I hope, will easily discover, that it might be good and rational in *Irenæus* having to do with Hereticks, who, somewhat like those, who would be the only Catholicks, declined a trial by Scripture, as not containing the Truth of Christ perfectly, and not fit to decide Controversies, without recourse to Tradition: I say, he will easily perceive that it might be rational in *Irenæus* to urge them, with any Tradition of more credit than their own, especially a Tradition consonant to Scripture, and even contained in it; and yet that it may be irrational in you to urge us, who do not decline Scripture, but appeal to it as a perfect rule of faith, with a Tradition which we pretend is many ways repugnant to Scripture; and repugnant to a

epistolis meminit. Succedit autem ei Anacletus: post eum tertio loco ab Apostolis episcopatum sortitur Clemens, qui et videt Apostolos, et contulit cum eis, et cùm adhuc insonantam prædicationem Apostolorum et Traditionem ante oculos haberet, non solus; adhuc enim multo supererant tunc ab Apostolis docti. Sub hoc igitur Clemente, dissensione non modica inter eos qui Corinthi essent fratres facta, scripsit quæ est Romæ Ecclesia potentissimas literas Corinthiis, ad pacem eos congregans, et reparans fidem eorum, et annuntians quam in recenti ab Apostolis acceperant Traditionem, annunciantem unum deum omnipotentem, factorem cœli et terræ, plasmatorem hominis,

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Tradition far more general than it self, which gives testimony to Scripture; and lastly, repugnant to itself, as giving attestation both to Scripture, and to Doctrines plainly contrary to Scripture. Secondly, that the Authority of the *Roman* Church was then a far greater Argument of the Truth of her Tradition when it was united with all other Apostolick Churches, than now when it is divided from them, according to that of *Tertullian, Had the Churches erred they would have varied, but that which is the same in all, cannot be Error but Tradition*; and therefore *Irenæus* his Argument may be very probable, yet yours may be worth nothing. Thirdly, that fourteen hundred years may have made a great deal of alteration in the *Roman* Church; as rivers, though near the fountain, they may retain their native and unmixt sincerity, yet in long progress cannot but take in much mixture that came not from the Fountain. And therefore the *Roman* Tradition, though then pure, may now be corrupted and impure: and so this Argument (being one of those things which are the worse for wearing) might in *Irecænus* his time be strong and vigorous, and after declining and decaying may long since have fallen to nothing. Especially, considering that *Irenæus* plays the Historian only, and not the Prophet, and says only, that the *Apostolick Tradition had been always there as in other Apostolick Churches conserved or observed*, chuse you whether, but that *it should be always so*, he says not, neither had he any warrant.—*Chillingworth's works*, (*Religion of Protestants, a safe way to salvation*); *London*, 1704.

The distinguished Richard Field, in his treatise of the church, also reclaims against Bellarmine's use of these words of Irenæus. Neander agrees substantially in Chillingworth's interpretation, while accepting conservata (not observata) as the true reading. He takes "convenire" as a translation of συνερχέσθαι not συμβαίνειν as Gieseler supposes: "on the ground of the rank which this church maintains as the ecclesia urbis, all churches, that is, believers from all countries must—the 'must' continues Neander lies in the nature of the case,—come together there; and since now from the beginning christians from all countries must come together there, it follows that the apostolic tradition has been preserved from generation to generation by the christians from all countries of the world, who are there united together."

He confirms this interpretation by a passage in Athenæus, in which the City of Rome is called an epitome of the whole world."

qui induxerit cataclysmum, et advocaverit Abraham, qui eduxerit populum de terra Egypti, qui colloquutus sit Moysi, qui legem disposuerit, et Prophetas miserit, qui ignem præpararet diabolo et Angelis ejus. Hunc Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi ab Ecclesiis annunciari, ex ipsa Scriptura, qui velint, discere possunt, et Apostolicam eam Ecclesiæ Traditionem intelligere, cum sit vetustior Epistola his qui nunc falso docent, et alterum Deum super Demiurgum et factorem horum omnium quæ sunt commentiuntur. Huic autem Clementi succedit Euaristus, et Euaristo Alexander, ac deinceps sextus ab Apostolis constitutus est Sixtus, et ab hoc Telesphorus, qui etiam gloriossime martyrium fecit: ac deinceps Hyginus, post Pius, post quem Anicetus. Cum autem successisset Aniceto Soter, nunc duodecimo loco Episcopatum ab Apostolis habet Eleutherius. Hac ordinatione et successione ea quæ est ab Apostolis in Ecclesia Traditio et veritatis præconiatio pervenit usque ad nos. Et est plenissima hæc ostensio, unam et eandem vivificatricem fidem esse, quæ in Ecclesia ab Apostolis usque nunc sit conservata, et tradita in veritate.

Et Polycarpus autem non solum ab Apostolis edoctus, et conversatus cum multis ex eis qui Dominum nostrum viderunt; sed etiam ab Apostolis in Asia, in ea quæ est Smyrnis Ecclesia constitutus Episcopus, quem et nos vidimus in prima nostra ætate: (multum enim perseveravit, et valde senex gloriosissime et nobilissimè martyrium faciens exivit de hac vita) hæc docuit semper quæ ab Apostolis didicerat, quæ et Ecclesiæ tradidit, et sola sunt vera. Et testimonium his perhibent quæ sunt in Asia Ecclesiæ omnes, et qui usque adhuc successerunt Polycarpo: qui vir multo majoris authoritatis, et fidelior veritatis est testis, quam Valentinus et Marcion, et reliqui qui sunt perversæ sententiæ.

VII. CLEMENT (ALEX.) VIII. ORIGEN.

We place these names together, as representatives of the Alexandrian Theology. They belong to the third century, and the reign of Severus and his immediate successors: Origen living on to the time of Decius, or year 254.

Clement succeeded to Pantænus as master of the Christian catechetical school or college at Alexandria: Origen followed Clement, whose pupil he had been.

Clement and Origen have this in common: they were both imbued with the spirit of the Neo-Platonic philosophy; each did good service against the Docetæ and others. Both led in the system of allegorical interpretation of scripture, which was carried to so great an extent in that age. Dating indeed, before them, from Philo and the Jewish sects, Clement carried it to the extent of cabalistic mysticism. But, though it affects injuriously his interpretation of scripture, his works, as well as Origen's, are much admired. Olshausen has remarked his richness and depth of thought on a passage in the Gospels, from which we extract. The other piece is from his Pædagogia, an exposition of Christian morals.

Origen was the first great Biblical critic: we only need name his Polyglott. But otherwise he rendered eminent service to truth. Early advanced to the rank of Presbyter in the church at Alexandria, his labours were indefatigable. Besides his great work in vindication of Christianity against Celsus, an Epicurean philosopher, he opposed with eminent success the errors of Beryllus, respecting the person of Christ; Beryllus owning himself convinced. Unhappily, opinions of a dangerous tendency, propounded in certain of Origen's writings, have clouded his own name. But he is mentioned with great respect by Athanasius; and it is thought, that some of his works were falsified by the heretics. In his advanced years he suffered in the Decian persecutions, enduring (Eusebius tells us) imprisonment and torture for the gospel's sake. We give part of his argument with Celsus.

ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΟΥ.

1. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἀπεδείξαμεν παῖδας ἡμᾶς τοὺς πάντας ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς καλουμενούς, οὐ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Χριστῷ κατηκολουθηκότας ἡμᾶς νηπίους ἀλληγορουμένους, μόνον δὲ εἶναι τέλειον τὸν Πατέρα τῶν ὅλων—ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ ὁ Πατήρ—, καὶ ὥρα ἡμῖν ἑπομένοις τῇ τάξει καὶ τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ἡμῶν εἰπεῖν, ὅστις ἐστί. Καλεῖται δὲ Ἰησοῦς. Ἔσθ' ὅτε οὖν ποιμένα ἑαυτὸν καλεῖ καὶ λέγει, "ἐγώ εἰμί ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός," κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἀπὸ τῶν ποιμένων τῶν καθηγουμένων τοῖς προβάτοις, ὁ καθηγούμενος τῶν παιδίων, παιδαγωγὸς νοούμενος, ὁ τῶν νηπίων κηδεμονικὸς ποιμήν· ἁπλοῖ γὰρ οἱ νήπιοι ὡς πρόβατα ἀλληγορούμενοι· "καὶ γενήσονται," φησὶν, "οἱ πάντες μία ποίμνη καὶ εἷς "ποιμήν." Παιδαγωγὸς οὖν εἰκότως ὁ Λόγος ὁ τοὺς παῖδας ἡμᾶς εἰς σωτηρίαν ἄγων. Ἐναργέστατα γοῦν ὁ Λόγος περὶ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ Ὠσηὲ εἴρηκεν· "ἐγὼ δὲ παιδευτὴς ὑμῶν εἰμί."[1] Παιδαγωγία δὲ ἡ θεοσέβεια, μάθησις οὖσα Θεοῦ θεραπείας, καὶ παίδευσις εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας, ἀγωγή τε ὀρθὴ, ἀνάγουσα εἰς οὐρανόν.—Book I., cap. vii.

II. Παιδαγωγία δὲ καλεῖται πολλαχῶς· καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ἀγομένου καὶ μανθάνοντος, καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἄγοντος καὶ διδάσκοντος, καὶ αὐτὴ τρίτον ἡ ἀγωγὴ, καὶ τὰ διδασκόμενα τέταρτον, οἷον αἱ ἐντολαί. Ἔστι δὲ ἡ κατὰ Θεὸν παιδαγωγία κατευθυσμὸς ἀληθείας εἰς ἐποπτείαν Θεοῦ, καὶ πράξεων ἁγίων ὑποτύπωσις ἐν αἰωνίῳ διαμονῇ. Ὥσπερ οὖν κατευθύνει τὴν φάλαγγα ὁ στρατηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν μισθοφόρων προμηθούμενος, καὶ ὡς ὁ κυβερνήτης οἰακίζει τὸ σκάφος σώζειν προαιρούμενος τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας, οὕτως καὶ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἄγει τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ τὴν σωτήριον δίαιταν τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἕνεκεν κηδεμονίας· καὶ καθόλου ὁπόσα ἂν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐλόγως αἰτήσαιμεν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, ταῦτα πειθομένοις τῷ παιδαγωγῷ περιέσται. Ὅνπερ οὖν τρόπον ὁ κυβερνήτης οὐκ αἰεὶ τοῖς ἀνέμοις ὑπείκει, ἀντίπρωρος δὲ ἔσθ' ὅτε ὅλαις ἀνθίσταται καταιγίσιν, οὕτως ὁ παιδαγωγὸς οὐχὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τῷδε καταπνέουσι

[1] Hos. v., 2, (Sept.)

νόμοις ὑπείκει ποτὲ, οὐδέ ἐπιτρέπει αὐτοῖς τὸ παιδίον, ὥσπερ σκάφος, εἰς θηριώδη καὶ ἀσελγῆ προσρῆξαι δίαιταν, μόνῳ δὲ ἄρα τῷ ἀληθείας πνεύματι ἔπουρος ἀρθεὶς, ἀντέχεται μαλα ἐρρωμένως τῶν οἰάκων τοῦ παιδὸς, τῶν ὤτων λέγω, ἕως ἂν ἀβλαβὲς καθορμίσῃ τὸ παιδίον εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν οὐρανῶν. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάτριον καλούμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔθος, ὅσον οὐδέπω παρέρχεται· ἡ δὲ ἀγωγὴ ἡ θεία[1] κτῆμά ἐστίν εἰς ἀεὶ παραμένον.

III. Ἀχιλλέως μὲν οὖν παιδαγωγὸν τὸν Φοίνικά φασι γεγονέναι, καὶ τῶν Κροίσου παίδων Ἄδραστον, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ Λεωνίδην, καὶ Φιλίππου Ναυσίθοον. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γυναικομανὴς ὁ Φοίνιξ ἦν, ὁ δὲ φυγὰς ὁ Ἄδραστος ἦν, Λεωνίδης δὲ οὐ περιεῖλεν τὸν τῦφον τοῦ Μακεδόνος, οὐδὲ Ναυσίθοος μεθύοντα τὸν ἐκ Πέλλης ἰάσατο, Ἀλκιβιάδου δὲ τὴν πορνείαν ὁ Θρᾷξ ἐπισχεῖν οὐκ ἴσχυσε Ζώπυρος, ἀλλ' ὠνητὸν ἀνδράποδον ὁ Ζώπυρος ἦν, καὶ τῶν Θεμιστοκλέους παίδων ὁ παιδαγωγὸς Σίκιννος οἰκέτης ῥᾴθυμος ἦν, ὀρχεῖσθαί φασιν αὐτὸν καὶ σικιννίζειν εὑρηκέναι. Οὐκ ἔλαθον ἡμᾶς οἱ παρὰ Πέρσαις βασίλειοι καλούμενοι παιδαγωγοὶ, οὓς τέτταρας τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀριστίνδην ἐκλέγοντες ἐκ πάντων Περσῶν οἱ βασιλεῖς Περσῶν τοῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐφίστων παισίν· ἀλλὰ τοξεύειν μόνον οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῖς μανθάνουσιν, ἡβήσαντες δὲ ἀδελφαῖς καὶ μητράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ, γαμεταῖς τε ἅμα καί παλλακίσιν ἀναρίθμοις ἐπιμίσγονται, καθάπερ οἱ κάπροι εἰς συνουσίαν ἠσκημένοι. Ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος παιδαγωγὸς ἅγιος Θεὸς Ἰησοῦς, ὁ πάσης τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος καθηγεμὼν Λόγος, αὐτὸς ὁ φιλάνθρωπος Θεός ἐστι παιδαγωγός.

IV. Λέγει δέ που διὰ τῆς ᾠδῆς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον εἰς αὐτὸν, "αὐτάρκησε τὸν λαὸν ἐν τῃ ἐρήμῳ, ἐν δίψει καύματος ἐν ἀνύδρῳ ἐκύκλωσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπαίδευσεν αὐτὸν καὶ διεφύλαξεν ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ, ὡς ἀετὸς σκεπάσαι νεοσσιὰν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς νεοσσοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόθησεν, διεὶς τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτου ἐδέξατο αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνέλαβεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν μεταφρένων αὐτοῦ· Κύριος μόνος ἦγεν αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἦν μετ' αὐτων Θεὸς ἀλλότριος."[2] Σαφῶς οἶμαι τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ἐνδείκνυται ἡ γραφὴ τὴν ἀγωγὴν αὐτοῦ διηγουμένη.

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[1] Thucyd. i., 22. [2] Deut. xxxii., 10.

Οὗτος ἦν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἄγων καὶ φέρων, ὁ συγγυμναζόμενος καὶ ἀλείφων κατὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ τὸν ἀσκητὴν Ἰακώβ.

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Ταύτῃ οὖν καὶ Σωτὴρ ὁ Λόγος κέκληται, ὁ τὰ λογικὰ ταῦτα ἐξευρὼν ἀνθρώποις εἰς εὐαισθησίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν φάρμακα, ἐπιτηρῶν μὲν τὴν εὐκαιρίαν ἐλέγχων δὲ τὴν βλάβην, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν παθῶν διηγούμενος καὶ τὰς ῥίζας τῶν ἀλόγων ἐπικόπτων ἐπιθυμιῶν, παραγγέλλων μὲν ὧν ἀπέχεσθαι δεῖ τὰς ἀντιδότους δὲ ἁπάσας τῆς σωτηρίας τοῖς νοσοῦσι προσφέρων· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ μέγιστον καὶ βασιλικώτατον ἔργον τοῦ Θεοῦ σώζειν τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα. Τῷ μὲν οὖν ἰατρῷ οὐδὲ πρὸς ὑγείαν συμβουλεύοντι ἄχθονται οἱ κάμνοντες, τῷ δὲ παιδαγωγῷ τῷ θείῳ πῶς οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσαιμεν τὴν μεγίστην χάριν μὴ σιωπῶντι μηδὲ παρενθυμουμένῳ τὰς εἰς ἀπώλειαν φερούσας ἀπειλὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτας διελέγχοντι καὶ τὰς ὁρμὰς τὰς εἰς αὐτὰς διατεινούσας ἀνακόπτοντι καὶ τὰς καθηκούσας πρὸς τὴν ὀρθὴν πολιτείαν ὑποθημοσύνας ἐκδιδάσκοντι; Πλείστην ἄρα ὁμολογητέον χάριν αὐτῷ. Τὸ γάρ τοι ζῶον τὸ λογικὸν, τὸν ἄνθρωπον λέγω, ἄλλο τι φαμὲν ἢ θεάσασθαι τὸ θεῖον δεῖν; θεάσασθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν φημὶ χρῆναι, ζῆν τε ὡς ὑφηγεῖται ἡ αλήθεια, ἀγαμένους ὑπερφυῶς τόν τε παιδαγωγὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ὡς πρέποντα ἀλλήλοις ἐστὶ καὶ ἁρμόττοντα, καθ' ἣν εἰκόνα καὶ ἡμᾶς ἁρμοσαμένους χρὴ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν παιδαγωγὸν σύμφωνον τὸν λόγον ποιησαμένους τοῖς ἐργοῖς τῷ ὄντι ζῆν.—B. I., cap. xii.

Ἀγαπάτωσαν οὖν ἀλλήλους οἱ συνεζευγμένοι, "ὡς τὰ ἴδια σώματα." "Τὰ τέκνα ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑμῶν, —οἱ πατέρες μὴ παροργίζετε τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκτρέφετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νουθεσίᾳ Κυρίου. Οἱ δοῦλοι ὑπακούετε τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου, ἐν ἁπλότητι τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν, ὡς τῷ Χριστῷ—ἐκ ψυχῆς μετ' εὐνοίας δουλεύοντες.—Καὶ οἱ κύριοι εὖ ποιεῖτε τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑμῶν ἀνιέντες τὴν ἀπειλὴν, εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ὑμῶν ὁ Κύριός ἐστιν ἐν οὐρανοῖς, καὶ προσωποληψία οὐκ ἔστιν." "Εἰ ζῶμεν πνεύματι, πνεύματι καὶ στοιχῶμεν. Μὴ γινώμεθα κενόδοξοι, ἀλλήλους προκαλούμενοι, ἀλλήλοις φθο-

νοῦντες·—ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε, καὶ οὕτως ἀναπληρώσατε τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ.—Μὴ *πλανᾶσθε,* Θεὸς *οὐ μυκτηρίζεται.*—Τὸ *καλὸν ποιοῦντες μὴ ἐκκακῶμεν, καιρῷ γὰρ ἰδίῳ θερίσομεν, μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι.*" "Εἰ*ρηνεύετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς.* Π*αρακαλοῦμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοὶ, νουθετεῖτε τοὺς ἀτάκτους, παραμυθεῖσθε τοὺς ὀλιγοψύχους, ἀντέχεσθε τῶν ἀσθενῶν, μακροθυμεῖτε πρὸς πάντας, ὁρᾶτε μή τις κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ τινὶ ἀποδῷ.*—Τὸ *πνεῦμα μὴ σβέννυτε, προφητείας μὴ ἐξουθενεῖτε, πάντα δὲ δοκιμάζετε, καὶ τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε, ἀπὸ παντὸς εἴδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε.*" "Τ*ῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρτερεῖτε, γρηγοροῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν εὐχαριστίᾳ.*—Ἐν *σοφίᾳ περιπατεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω τὸν καιρὸν ἐξαγοραζόμενοι.* Ὁ *λόγος ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν χάριτι, ἅλατι ἠρτυμένος, εἰδέναι πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ ἀποκρίνεσθαι.*"—Book III., cap. xii.

Ὦ *τῆς μακαρίου θρέμματα παιδαγωγίας· τὸ καλὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πληρώσωμεν πρόσωπον καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγαθὴν προσδράμωμεν οἱ νήπιοι μητέρα, κἂν ἀροαταὶ τοῦ λόγου γενώμεθα, τὴν μακαρίαν δοξάζωμεν οἰκονομίαν,*[1] *δι' ἣν παιδαγωγεῖται μὲν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἁγιάζεται δὲ ὡς* Θεοῦ *παιδίον, καὶ πολιτεύεται μὲν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀπὸ γῆς παιδαγωγούμενος.* Π*ατέρα δὲ ἐκεῖ λαμβάνει, ὃν ἐπὶ γῆς μανθάνει.* Π*άντα ὁ* Λ*όγος καὶ ποιεῖ καὶ διδάσκει καὶ παιδαγωγεῖ.* Ἵ*ππος ἄγεται χαλινῷ, καὶ ταῦρος ἄγεται ζυγῷ, θηρίον βρόχῳ ἁλίσκεται, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος μεταπλάσσεται λόγῳ, ᾧ θηρία τιθασσεύεται καὶ νηκτὰ δελεάζεται καὶ πτηνὰ κατασύρεται,* Οὗ*τος ὡς ἀληθῶς τεχνάζεται ἵππῳ χαλινὸν, ταύρῳ ζυγὸν, θηρίῳ βρόχον, κάλαμον ἰχθύϊ, πάγην ὀρνέῳ· οὗτος πολιτεύεται καὶ γεωργεῖ, ἄρχει καὶ ὑπουργεῖ καὶ τὰ ὅλα δημιούργει·*

ἐν μὲν γαῖαν ἔτευξ', ἐν δ' οὐρανὸν, ἐν δὲ θάλασσαν,
ἐν δὲ τὰ τείρεα πάντα, τά τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται.[2]

Ὦ *τῶν θείων δημιουργημάτων, ὢ τῶν θείων παραγγελμάτων· ὕδωρ τοῦτο ἐν ἑαυτῷ κυμαινέτω, πῦρ τοῦτο τὴν ὀργὴν συνεχέτω, ἀὴρ οὗτος εἰς αἰθέρα πλανάσθω, γῆ δὲ καὶ πεπήχθω καὶ φερέσθω, ὅταν ἐγὼ θέλω ἄνθρωπον ἔτι πλά-*

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[1] Meaning the doctrine of the incarnation of Christ, as distinguished from the *θεολογία* or doctrine of his divinity.

[2] Hom. Il., Bk. XVIII., line 483.

σαι καὶ βούλωμαι, ὕλην ἔχω τὰ στοιχεῖα, συνοικῶ μου τῷ πλάσματι. Ἐάν με γνωρίσῃς, δουλεύσει σοι τὸ πῦρ. Τοσοῦτος ὁ Λόγος οὗτος, ὁ παιδαγωγὸς, ὁ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δημιουργὸς, καὶ δι' αὐτὸν ἤδη καὶ τοῦ κόσμου παιδαγωγὸς, οὗ τῇ ἐγκελεύσει ἄμφω συνεστήκαμεν προσμένοντες τὴν κρίσιν, Οὐ γὰρ ὑπόκλοπον φορεῖ βροτοῖσι φωνάεντα λόγον, ἔσται λόγος σοφία, ὥς φησι Βακχυλίδης. Τὰ δὲ ἄμεμπτα καὶ ἀκέραια καὶ ἄμωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ κατὰ τὸν Παῦλον τέκνα, μέσον γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς καὶ διεστραμμένης, φωστήρων δίκην ἐν κόσμῳ φαίνεσθαι.

Ὅπερ οὖν λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ πανηγύρει τοῦ Λογου, τῷ Λόγῳ προσευξώμεθα· ἵλαθι τοῖς σοῖς, παιδαγωγὲ, παιδίοις, πατὴρ, ἡνίοχε Ἰσραὴλ, υἱὲ καὶ πατὴρ, ἓν ἄμφω Κύριε. Δὸς δὲ ἡμῖν τοῖς σοῖς ἑπομένοις παραγγέλμασι τὸ ὁμοίωμα πληρῶσαι τῆς εἰκόνος, αἰσθάνεσθαί τε κατὰ κράτος ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, κριτοῦ τε μὴ πικροῦ, καὶ πάρασχε ἅπαντα αὐτὸς ἐν εἰρήνῃ τῇ σῇ πολιτευομένους, ἐν τῇ σῇ μετατιθεμένους πόλει, ἀκυμάντως τῆς ἁμαρτίας τὸν κλύδωνα διαπλεύσαντας, γαληνιῶντας ἁγίῳ συμφέρεσθαι Πνεύματι, σοφίᾳ τῇ ἀνεκφράστῳ, νύκτωρ, καθ' ἡμέραν, εἰς τὴν τελείαν ἡμέραν, αἰνοῦντας εὐχαριστεῖν, [εὐχαριστοῦντας) αἰνεῖν, τῷ μόνῳ πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ, υἱῷ καὶ πατρὶ, παιδαγωγῷ καὶ διδασκάλῳ υἱῷ, σὺν καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, πάντα τῷ ἑνὶ, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα, δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα ἕν, δι' ὃν τὸ ἀεὶ, οὗ μέλη πάντες, οὗ δόξα αἰῶνες,[1] πάντα τῷ ἀγαθῷ, πάντα τῷ καλῷ, πάντα τῷ σοφῷ, τῷ δικαίῳ τὰ πάντα, Ὧι ἡ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἡμᾶς καταστήσας ὁ παιδαγωγὸς αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ παρακατέθετο τῷ διδασκαλικῷ καὶ πανεπισκόπῳ Λόγῳ, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα γενομένους μισθὸν εὐχαριστίας δικαίας κατάλληλον ἀστείου παιδαγωγίας αἶνον ἀναπέμψαι Κυρίῳ.[2]—B. III., xv.-xvii.

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[1] *αἰῶνες*—probably angels are meant here. "Cujus gloria sunt sæcula, *i.e.*, spiritus cœlestes, sive angeli," Grabius.—POTTER.

[2] Clement's prayer and doxology form a valuable document as to early opinions.

ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ

ΤΙΣ Ο ΣΩΖΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΟΣ.

11. Τί τοίνυν ἦν τὸ προτρεψάμενον αὐτὸν εἰς φυγὴν, καὶ ποιῆσαν ἀπαυτομολῆσαι τοῦ διδασκάλου, τῆς ἱκεσείας, τῆς ἐλπίδος, τῆς ζωῆς, τῶν προπεπονημένων ; πώλησον τὰ ὑπάρχοντά σου. Τί δὲ τοῦτο ἐστίν ; οὐχ ἃ προχείρως δέχονταί τινες, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν οὐσίαν ἀποῤῥίψαι προστάσσει καὶ ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων· ἀλλὰ τὰ δόγματα περὶ χρημάτων ἐξορίσαι τῆς ψυχῆς, τὴν περὶ αὐτὰ πτοίαν καὶ νόσον, τὰς μερίμνας, τὰς ἀκάνθας τοῦ βίου, αἳ τὸ σπέρμα τῆς ζωῆς συμπνίγουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ μέγα καὶ ζηλωτὸν τὸ τηνάλλως ἀπορεῖν χρημάτων μὴ ἐπὶ λόγῳ ζωῆς· οὕτω μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἦσαν οἱ μηδὲν ἔχοντες μηδαμῆ, ἀλλὰ ἔρημοι καὶ μεταῖται τῶν ἐφ' ἡμέραν, οἱ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐῤῥιμμένοι πτωχοὶ, ἀγνοοῦντες δὲ Θεὸν καὶ δικαιοσύνην Θεοῦ, κατ' αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ ἄκρως ἀπορεῖν καὶ ἀμηχανεῖν βίου καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων σπανίζειν, μακαριώτατοι καὶ θεοφιλέστατοι, καὶ μόνοι ζωὴν ἔχοντες αἰώνιον. οὔτε καινὸν τὸ ἀπείπασθαι πλοῦτον καὶ χαρίσασθαι πτωχοῖς ἢ πένησιν, ὃ πολλοὶ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος καθόδου πεποιήκασιν, οἱ μὲν τῆς εἰς λόγους σχολῆς καὶ νεκρᾶς σοφίας ἕνεκεν, οἱ δὲ φήμης κενῆς καὶ κενοδοξίας, Ἀναξαγόραι καὶ Δημόκριτοι καὶ Κράτητες.[1]

12. Τί οὖν ὡς καινὸν, ἴδιον Θεοῦ παραγγέλλει καὶ μόνον ζωοποιὸν, ὃ τοὺς προτέρους οὐκ ἔσωσεν ; τί δὲ ἐξαίρετόν τι ἡ καινὴ κτίσις, ὁ υἱὸς θεοῦ μηνύει και διδάσκει ; οὐ τὸ φαινόμενον, ὅπερ ἄλλοι πεποιήκασι, παρεγγυᾷ, ἀλλ' ἕτερόν τι διὰ τούτου σημαινόμενον μεῖζον καὶ θειότερον καὶ τελειώτερον, τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν γυμνῶσαι τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν καὶ πρόῤῥιζα τὰ ἀλλότρια τῆς γνώμης ἐκτεμεῖν καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν. τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον μὲν τοῦ πιστοῦ τὸ

[1] Refers to Crates, a philosopher of Thebes, who threw his gold into the sea. He is mentioned by Cicero.—Aç. Q. I., 9.

μάθημα, ἄξιον δὲ τοῦ σωτῆρος τὸ δίδαγμα. οἱ γάρ τοι πρότερον καταφρονήσαντες τῶν ἐκτὸς, τὰ μὲν κτήματα ἀφῆκαν καὶ παραπώλεσαν, τὰ δὲ πάθη τῶν ψυχῶν οἶμαι ὅτι καὶ προσεπέτειναν. ἐν ὑπεροψίᾳ γὰρ ἐγένοντο καὶ ἀλαζονείᾳ καὶ κενοδοξίᾳ καὶ περιφρονήσει τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ὡς αὐτοί τι ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἐργαζόμενοι. Πῶς ἂν οὖν ὁ σωτὴρ παρῄνει τοῖς ἀεὶ βιωσομένοις τὰ βλάψοντα καὶ λυμανούμενα πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν ἣν ἐπαγγέλλεται; καὶ γὰρ ἂν κἀκεῖνό ἐστι, δύναταί τις ἀποφορτισάμενος τὴν κτῆσιν, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἔτι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὴν ὄρεξιν τῶν χρημάτων ἔχειν ἐντετηκυῖαν καὶ συζῶσαν· καὶ τὴν μὲν χρῆσιν ἀποβεβληκέναι, ἀπορῶν δὲ ἅμα καὶ ποθῶν ἅπερ ἐσπάθησε, διπλῇ λυπεῖσθαι, καὶ τῇ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας ἀπουσίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῆς μετανοίας παρουσίᾳ. ἀνέφικτον γὰρ καὶ ἀμήχανον, δεόμενον τῶν πρὸς τὸ βιοτεύειν ἀναγκαίων μὴ κατακλᾶσθαι τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἀσχολίαν ἄγειν ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων, ὁπωσοῦν καὶ ὁθενοῦν ταῦτα πειρώμενον ἐκπορίζειν.

13. Καὶ πόσῳ χρησιμώτερον τὸ ἐναντίον, ἱκανὰ κεκτημένον αὐτόν τε περὶ τὴν κτῆσιν μὴ κακοπαθεῖν, καὶ οἷς καθῆκεν ἐπικουρεῖν; τίς γὰρ ἂν κοινωνία καταλίποιτο παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, εἰ μηδεὶς ἔχοι μηδέν; πῶς ἂν τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ καλοῖς τοῦ Κυρίου δόγμασιν οὐχὶ φανερῶς ἐναντιούμενον εὑρίσκοιτο καὶ μαχόμενον; ποιήσατε ἑαυτοῖς φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας, ἵνα, ὅταν ἐκλίπητε, δέξωνται ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους σκηνάς. κτήσασθε θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὅπου μήτε σὴς μήτε βρῶσις ἀφανίζουσι, μήτε κλέπται διορύσσουσι. πῶς ἄν τις πεινῶντα τρέφοι, καὶ διψῶντα ποτίζοι, καὶ γυμνὸν σκεπάζοι, καὶ ἄστεγον συνάγοι, ἃ τοῖς μὴ ποιήσασιν ἀπειλεῖ πῦρ καὶ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, εἰ πάντων αὐτὸς ἕκαστος φθάνοι τούτων ὑστερῶν; ἀλλὰ μὴν αὐτός τε ἐπιξενοῦσθαι Ζακχαίῳ κελεύει καὶ Ματθαίῳ τοῖς πλουσίοις καὶ τελώναις. καὶ τὰ μὲν χρήματα αὐτοὺς οὐ κελεύει μεθεῖναι, τὴν δὲ δικαίαν κρίσιν[1] ἐπιθεὶς, καὶ τὴν ἄδικον ἀφελὼν, καταλέγει. σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ ἐγένετο, καθότι καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ ἐστιν. οὕτως τὴν χρείαν αὐτῶν ἐπαινεῖ, ὥστε καὶ μετὰ τῆς προσθήκης ταύτης τὴν κοινωνίαν ἐπι-

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[1] Another reading is κτῆσιν.

τάσσει, ποτίζειν τὸν διψῶντα, ἄρτον διδόναι τῷ πεινῶντι, ὑποδέχεσθαι τὸν ἄστεγον, ἀμφιεννύναι τὸν γυμνόν. εἰ δὲ τὰς χρείας οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐκπληροῦν ταῦτας μὴ ἀπὸ χρημάτων, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων ἀφίστασθαι κελεύει, τί ἂν ἕτερον εἴη ποιῶν ὁ Κύριος, ἢ τὰ αὐτὰ διδόναι τε καὶ μὴ διδόναι παραινῶν, τρέφειν τε καὶ μὴ τρέφειν, ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ ἀποκλείειν, κοινωνεῖν καὶ μὴ κοινωνεῖν; ὅπερ ἁπάντων ἀλογώτατον.[1]

14. *Οὐκ ἄρα ἀποῤῥιπτέον τὰ καὶ τοὺς πέλας ὠφελοῦντα χρήματα. κτήματα γάρ ἐστι κτητὰ ὄντα, καὶ χρήματα χρήσιμα ὄντα καὶ εἰς χρῆσιν ἀνθρώπων παρεσκευασμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἃ δὴ παράκειται καὶ ὑποβέβληται καθάπερ ὕλη τις καὶ ὄργανα πρὸς χρῆσιν ἀγαθὴν τοῖς εἰδόσι τὸ ὄργανον. ἐὰν χρῇ τεχνικῶς, τεχνικόν ἐστιν· ἐὰν ὑστερῇς τῆς τέχνης, ἀπολαύει τῆς σῆς ἀπαιδευσίας ὂν ἀναίτιον. Τοιοῦτον καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ὄργανόν ἐστι. δύνασαι χρῆσθαι δικαίως αὐτῷ; πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καθυπηρετεῖ. ἀδίκως τις αὐτῷ χρῆται; πάλιν ὑπηρέτης ἀδικίας εὑρίσκεται. πέφυκε γὰρ ὑπηρετεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄρχειν. οὐ χρὴ τοίνυν τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἔχον μήτε τὸ ἀγαθὸν μήτε τὸ κακὸν, ἀναίτιον ὂν αἰτιᾶσθαι· ἀλλὰ τὸ δυνάμενον καὶ καλῶς τούτοις χρῆσθαι καὶ κακῶς, ἀφ' ὧν ἂν ἕληται καθ' αὐτό. τοῦτο δέ ἐστι νοῦς ἀνθρώπου καὶ κριτήριον, ἐλεύθερον ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον τῆς μεταχειρήσεως τῶν δοθέντων. ὥστε μὴ τὰ κτήματά τις ἀφανιζέτω μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς, τὰ μὴ συγχωροῦντα τὴν ἀμείνω χρῆσιν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων· ἵνα καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος καὶ τούτοις τοῖς χρήμασι χρῆσθαι δυνηθῇ καλῶς. τὸ οὖν ἀποτάξασθαι πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι καὶ πωλῆσαι πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐκδεκτέον ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ψυχικῶν παθῶν εἰρημένων.*[2]

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[1] The discourse is a discussion on Mark x., 17: "He went away sorrowful; for he had great possessions," &c. The sentiments brought out are, as Olsh. says, rich: only the exegesis is defective in not first expounding the literal sense of Christ's words, or the test—possibly (directly) exacted of the inquirer in this special case.

[2] Another reading is *εἰρημένον*.

ΩΡΙΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΕΛΣΟΥ.

ΤΟΜΟΣ γʹ.

* * * * * * Μετὰ ταῦτα τοσαῦθ' ἡμᾶς αἰτιασάμενος θέλει ἐμφῆναι, ὅτι καὶ ἕτερα ἔχων λέγειν παρασιωπᾷ αὐτά. ἔχει δ' οὕτως αὐτοῦ ἡ λέξις· "Ταῦτα μὲν αἰτιῶμαι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἵνα μὴ πάντ' ἀριθμῶ, καί φημι πλημμελεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπηρεάζοντας εἰς τὸν Θεὸν, ἵνα πονηροὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπάγωνται κούφαις ἐλπίσι, καὶ παραπείσωσι καταφρονῆσαι τῶν κρειττόνων, ὡς, ἐὰν ἀπέχωνται αὐτῶν, ἄμεινον αὐτοῖς ἔσται. καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ λέγοιτ' ἂν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τῶν προσερχομένων Χριστιανισμῷ ἐνεργείας, ὅτι οὐ πάνυ τι πονηροὶ ὑπάγονται τῷ λόγῳ, ὅσον οἱ ἁπλούστεροι, καὶ (ὡς ἂν οἱ πολλοὶ ὀνομάσαιεν) κομψοί. οὗτοι γὰρ φόβῳ τῷ περὶ τῶν κολάσεων τῶν ἀπαγγελλομένων, κινοῦντι αὐτοὺς καὶ προτρέποντι ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπέχεσθαι τούτων, δι' ἃ αἱ κολάσεις, πειρῶνται ἐπιδιδόναι ἑαυτοὺς τῇ κατὰ Χριστιανισμὸν θεοσεβείᾳ· ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου κινούμενοι, ὡς φόβῳ τῶν κατὰ τὸν λόγον ὀνομαζομένων αἰωνίων κολάσεων, πάσης τῆς παρ' ἀνθρώποις κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπινοουμένης βασάνου, καὶ μετὰ μυρίων πόνων, θανάτου καταφρονεῖν, ὅπερ οὐδεὶς ἂν τῶν εὖ φρονούντων φήσαι πονηρῶν προαιρέσεων ἔργον εἶναι. Πῶς δ' ἀπὸ προαιρέσεως πονηρᾶς ἐγκράτεια καὶ σωφροσύνη ἀσκεῖται, ἢ τὸ μεταδοτικὸν καὶ κοινωνικόν; ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον φόβος, ἐφ' ὃν ὡς χρήσιμον τοῖς πολλοῖς παρακαλεῖ ὁ λόγος τοὺς μηδέπω δυναμένους τὸ δι' αὑτὸ αἱρετὸν βλέπειν, καὶ αἱρεῖσθαι αὐτὸ, ὡς μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν, καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἐπαγγελίαν· ἐξ ὧν γὰρ οὐ τοῦτο τῷ κατὰ πονηρίαν αἱρουμένῳ ζῆν ἐγγενέσθαι πέφυκεν.

Ἐὰν δέ τις ἐν τούτοις δεισιδαιμονίαν μᾶλλον ἢ πονηρίαν περὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν πιστευόντων τῷ λόγῳ εἶναι φαντάζηται, καὶ ἐγκαλῇ ὡς δεισιδαίμονας ποιοῦντι τῷ λόγῳ ἡμῶν· φήσομεν πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὅτι ὥσπερ ἔλεγέ τις τὸν νομοθέτην,[1] πρὸς ἐρωτῶντα εἰ τοὺς καλλίστους ἔθετο τοῖς πολίταις νόμους, ὅτι οὐ τοὺς

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[1] Another reading—τῶν νομοθετῶν. Solon is meant.

καθάπαξ καλλίστους, ἀλλ' ὧν ἐδύνατο[1] τοὺς καλλίστους· οὕτω λέγοιτο ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Χριστιανῶν λόγου, ὅτι ὧν ἐδύναντο οἱ πολλοὶ εἰς βελτίωσιν ἠθῶν, τοὺς καλλίστους ἐθέμην νόμους, καὶ διδασκαλίαν, πόνους οὐ ψευδεῖς ἀπειλῶν, καὶ κολάσεις τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν· ἀλλ ἀληθεῖς μὲν καὶ ἀναγκαίους εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν ἀντιτεινόντων προσαγομένους, οὐ μὴν καὶ πάντως νοσούντων τὸ τοῦ κολάζοντος βούλημα, καὶ τὸ τῶν πόνων ἔργον· καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον, καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ μετ' ἐπικρύψεως συμφερόντως λέγεται. Πλὴν ὡς ἐπίπαν οὐ πονηροὺς ἐπάγονται οἱ τὰ Χριστιανισμοῦ πρεσβεύοντες, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπηρεάζομεν εἰς τὸ θεῖον. Λέγομεν γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀληθῆ, καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς σαφῆ μὲν εἶναι δοκοῦντα, οὐ σαφῆ δ' ὄντα ἐκείνοις, ὡς τοῖς ὀλίγοις, φιλοσοφεῖν ἀσκοῦσι τὰ κατὰ τὸν λόγον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ "κούφαις ἐλπίσι φησὶν ὑπάγεσθαι τοὺς Χριστιανίζοντας ὁ Κέλσος· φήσομεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγκαλοῦντα τῷ περὶ τῆς μακαρίας ζωῆς λόγῳ, καὶ τῷ περὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον κοινωνίας, ὅτι ὅσον ἐπὶ σοὶ, ὦ οὗτος, κούφαις ὑπάγονται ἐλπίσι καὶ οἱ τὸν Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος παραδεξάμενοι περὶ ψυχῆς λόγον, πεφυκυίας ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἁψῖδα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπερουρανίῳ τόπῳ θεωρεῖν τὰ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων θεατῶν θεάματα. Κατὰ σὲ δὲ, ὦ Κέλσε, καὶ οἱ παραδεξάμενοι τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς διαμονὴν, καὶ βιοῦντες ὥσθ' ἥρωες γενέσθαι, καὶ μετὰ Θεῶν ἕξειν τὰς διατριβὰς, κούφαις ἐλπίσιν ὑπάγονται. Τάχα δὲ καὶ οἱ πεισθέντες περὶ τοῦ θυράθεν νοῦ,[2] ὡς θανάτου καινοῦ διαγωγὴν ἕξοντος, κούφαις ἂν ὑπάγεσθαι λέγοιντο ὑπὸ Κέλσου ἐλπίσιν. ἀγωνισάσθω οὖν μηκέτι κρύπτων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αἵρεσιν, ἀλλ' ὁμολογῶν Ἐπικούρειος εἶναι πρὸς τὰ παρ Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις οὐκ εὐκαταφρονήτως λεγόμενα περὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας τῆς ψυχῆς, ἢ τῆς ἐπιδιαμονῆς αὐτῆς, ἢ τῆς τοῦ νοῦ ἀθανασίας· καὶ παραδεικνύτω ταῦτα μὲν εἶναι λόγους κούφαις ἐλπίσιν ἀπατῶντας τοὺς συγκατατιθεμένους αὐτοῖς, τοὺς δὲ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφιας καθαροὺς εἶναι κούφων ἐλπίδων· καὶ ἤτοι προσάγοντας ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθαῖς, ἢ (ὅπερ μᾶλλον ἀκόλουθόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ) οὐδε-

[1] Another reading is ἐδέοντο.—[illegible]
[2] Of the mind as in its origin extrinsic to the body.

μίαν ἐμποιοῦντας ἐλπίδα, διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς εὐθέως παντελῆ φθοράν. Εἰ μὴ ἄρα Κέλσος καὶ οἱ Ἐπικούρειοι οὐ φήσουσι κούφην εἶναι ἐλπίδα, τὴν περὶ τοῦ τέλους αὐτῶν τῆς ἡδονῆς, ἥτις κατ' αὐτούς ἐστι τὸ ἀγαθὸν, τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς εὐσταθὲς κατάστημα, καὶ τὸ περὶ ταύτης πιστὸν Ἐπικούρῳ ἔλπισμα.[1] *Μὴ ὑπολάβῃς δέ με οὐχ ἁρμοζόντως τῷ Χριστιανῶν λόγῳ παρειληφέναι πρὸς τὸν Κέλσον τοῦς περὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας ἢ τῆς ἐπιδιαμονῆς τῆς ψυχῆς φιλοσοφήσαντας. Πρὸς οὓς κοινά τινα ἔχοντες, εὐκαιρότερον παραστήσομεν, ὅτι ἡ μέλλουσα μακαρία ζωὴ μόνοις ἔσται τοῖς τὴν κατὰ Ιησοῦν θεοσέβειαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸν εὐσέβειαν εἰλικρινῆ καὶ καθαρὰν καὶ ἄμικτον πρὸς ὅ, τιποτοῦν γενητὸν παραδεξαμένοις. ποίων δὲ κρειττόνων καταφρονεῖν παραπείθομεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους παραδεικνύτω ὁ βουλόμενος, καὶ ἀντιπαραθέτω τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς παρὰ θεῷ ἐν Χριστῷ, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῷ λογῷ καὶ τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ, τέλος μακάριον τοῖς ἀμέμπτως καὶ καθαρῶς βιώσασι, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὅλων Θεὸν ἀγάπην ἀδιαίρετον καὶ ἄσχιστον ἀνειληφόσι, συμβησόμενον, καὶ δωρεᾷ Θεοῦ ἀπαντησόμενον, τῳ καθ' ἑκάστην φιλόσοφων αἵρεσιν ἐν Ἕλλησιν ἢ βαρβάροις, ἢ μυστηριώδη ἐπαγγελίαν, τέλει· καὶ δεικνύτω τὸ κατά τινα τῶν ἄλλων τέλος κρεῖττον τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἀκόλουθον μὲν ὡς ἀληθὲς ἐκεῖνο, τὸ δ' ἡμέτερον οὐκ ἁρμόζον δωρεᾷ Θεοῦ, οὐδὲ τοῖς εὖ βιώσασιν· ἢ οὐκ ὑπὸ θείου πνεύματος, πληρώσαντος τὰς τῶν καθαρῶν προφητῶν ψυχὰς, ταῦτα λελέχθαι. Δεικνύτω δ' ὁ βουλόμενος κρείττονας τοὺς ὁμολογουμένους παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρωπίνους λόγους τῶν ἀποδεικνυμένων θείων καὶ ἐκ θεοφορίας ἀπηγγελμένων· τίνων δὲ καὶ κρειττόνων τοὺς ἀποδεχομένους διδάσκομεν ἄμεινον απαλλάξειν; εἰ γὰρ μὴ φορτικὸν εἰπεῖν, αὐτόθεν φαίνεται, ὅτι οὐδὲν οὐκ ἐπινοηθῆναι ὡς κρεῖττον εἶναι δύναται τοῦ ἐμπιστεῦσαι ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ, καὶ ἀναθεῖναι διδασκαλίᾳ παντὸς μὲν ἀφιστάσῃ γενητοῦ, προσαγούσῃ δὲ δι' ἐμψύχου*

[1] Sometimes Origen and other fathers take lower ground than they could have assumed for their argument. They are not to be considered as waiving the higher reasons: the sacred writers themselves, and even our Lord, argue on the lower ground; or, as logicians say, *ab concessis.*

καὶ ζῶντος λόγου, ὅς ἐστι καὶ σοφία ζῶσα, καὶ υἱὸς Θεοῦ, τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ αὐτάρκη περιγραφὴν ἐν τούτοις καὶ τοῦ τρίτου τόμου τῶν πρὸς τὸ Κέλσου σύγγραμμα ἡμῖν ὑπαγορευθέντων εἰληφότος, αὐτοῦ που καταπαύσομεν τὸν λόγον.—Book III.

Ἔλεγε δὴ μετὰ τὰ ἐκκείμενα τοιαῦτα, "Ὁπόθεν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς, Θεοῦ υἱὸν καλεῖν, σημαίνω. Ἄνδρες παλαιοὶ τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, ὡς ἐκ Θεοῦ γενόμενον, παῖδά τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἠΐθεον προσεῖπον. Πάνυ γοῦν ὅμοιος οὗτός τε κἀκεῖνος παῖς Θεοῦ." Ὠήθη δή υἱόν Θεοῦ ἡμᾶς λέγειν, παραποιήσαντας τὰ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου, ὡς ἐκ Θεοῦ γενομένου, καὶ υἱοῦ ὀντὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ Θεοῦ. Οὐ γὰρ ἐδυνήθη ἐπιστήσας τοῖς χρόνοις Μωσέως καὶ τῶν προφητων ἰδεῖν, ὅτι καθόλου τὸ εἶνάι τινα υἱὸν Θεοῦ πρὸ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ ὧν φησιν ὁ Κέλσος παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ παρ' Ἰουδαίοις προφῆται προεφήτευσαν· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐβουλήθη τὸ παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς λελεγμένον, οὗ ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω ἐμνήσθημεν, περὶ τοῦ διακοσμήσαντος τόδε τὸ πᾶν, ὡς ὄντος υἱοῦ Θεοῦ, παραθέσθαι· ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ὃν πολλάκις ἐσέμνυνεν, ἀναγκασθῇ παραδέξασθαι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν δημιουργὸς τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς υἱός ἐστι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ δὲ πρῶτος καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεὸς πατήρ ἐστιν ἀυτοῦ. Εἰ δὲ τῷ τηλικούτῳ υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡνῶσθαι φάσκοντες τῇ ἄκρᾳ μετοχῇ ἐκέινου τὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ψυχὴν, οὐκ ἔτι χωριζομένην ἀπ' ἐκείνου αὐτήν, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· οἴδασι γὰρ οἱ ἱεροὶ τῶν θείων γραμμάτων λόγοι καὶ ἄλλα, δύο τῇ ἑαυτῶν φύσει τυγχάνοντα, εἰς ἓν ἀλλήλοις εἶναι λελογισμένα καὶ ὄντα, οἷον περὶ μὲν ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς λέλεκται, οὐκ ἔτι εἰσὶ δύο ἀλλὰ σὰρξ μία· περὶ δε τοῦ τελείου, καὶ κολλωμένου τῷ ἀληθινῷ Κυρίῳ, λόγῳ καὶ σοφίᾳ, καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, ὅτι ὁ κολλώμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ ἓν πνεῦμα ἐστιν. Εἰ δ' ὁ κολλώμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ ἓν πνεῦμά ἐστιν· τίς μᾶλλον της Ἰησοῦ ψυχής ἢ κἂν παραπλησίως κεκόλληται τῷ Κυρίῳ, τῷ αὐτολόγῳ καὶ αὐτοσοφίᾳ καὶ αὐτοαληθείᾳ, καὶ αὐτοδικαιοσύνῃ; ὅπερ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, οὐκ εἰσὶ δύο ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πρὸς τὸν πάσης κτίσεως προτότοκον Θεὸν λόγον. Εἶτα ἐὰν μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν λέγοντες ἀνθρώπου καὶ Θεοῦ

οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς φιλόσοφοι[1] μὴ εὐδαιμονέστερον λέγωσιν εἶναι, τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεὸν τοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις κατ' αὐτοὺς σοφοῦ, ἀλλ' ἴσην εἶναι τὴν ἀμφοτέρων εὐδαιμονίαν, Κέλσος οὐ καταγελᾷ, οὐδὲ χλευάζει τὸ δόγμα. Ἐὰν δ' ὁ θεῖος λόγος φάσκῃ κολλᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ ἑνοῦσθαι τῷ αὐτολόγῳ τὸν τέλειον, ὡς κατὰ τοῦτον ἀναβεβηκότος, μὴ χωρίζειν ἡμᾶς τὴν Ἰησοῦ ψυχὴν τοῦ προτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, γελᾷ τὸ λέγεσθαι υἱὸν θεοῦ Ἰησοῦν· οὐχ ὁρῶν, τίνα ἐστὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ μυστικῶς ἐν ταῖς θείαις γράφαις λεγομένα. Ἵνα δὲ προσαγάγωμεν τῇ παραδοχῇ τοῦ λεγομένου τὸν βουλόμενον ἀκολουθίαις δογμάτων ἕπεσθαι καὶ ὠφελεῖσθαι. λέγομεν, ὅτι σῶμα Χριστοῦ φασιν εἶναι οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι, ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ψυχούμενον, τὴν πᾶσαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησιαν· μέλη δὲ τούτου τοῦ σώματος εἶναι ὡς ὅλου τοὺς δὲ τινας τοὺς πιστεύοντας. Ἐπείπερ ὥσπερ ψυχὴ ζωοποιεῖ καὶ κινεῖ τὸ σῶμα, οὐ πεφυκὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ κινεῖσθαι ζωτικῶς, οὕτως ὁ λόγος, κινῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δέοντα, καὶ ἐνεργῶν, τὸ ὅλον σῶμα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κινεὶ, καὶ ἕκαστον μέλος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οὐδὲν χωρὶς λόγου πράττοντα. Ἔιπερ οὖν τοῦτο οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον, ὡς οἶμαι, ἔχει ἀκολουθίαν· τί χαλεπὸν, τῃ ἄκρᾳ καὶ ἀνυπερβλήτῳ κοινωνίᾳ πρὸς τὸν αὐτολόγον τὴν Ἰησοῦ ψυχὴν, καὶ ἀπαξαπλῶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν μὴ κεχωρίσθαι τοῦ μονογενοῦς, καὶ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, μήδ' ἕτερον ἔτι τυγχάνειν αὐτοῦ;—Book VI.

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[1] Seneca, Ep. 74, mentions this as a saying of Sextius: "Jovem plus non posse, quam bonum virum. Plura Jupiter habet, quæ præstet hominibus: sed inter duos bonos non est melior, qui locupletior; non magis quam inter duos, quibus par scientia regendi gubernaculum est, meliorem dixeris, cui majus speciosiusque navigium est. Jupiter quo antecedit virum bonum? diutius bonus est. Sapiens nihilo se minoris æstimat, quod virtutes ejus spatio breviore clauduntur."

See judicious remarks on the advantage taken by the fathers of the philosophy and mythology of the Gentiles, in Vaughan's "Causes of the Corruption of Christianity" "It remains to be seen that there was anything in the conduct of the early ecclesiastical writers, in appealing to the things existing in common between Christianity and Heathenism, that is not consistent with all our ideas of analogical reasoning. There should be no more to condemn in Justin Martyr or Origen, because they reason after this manner, than in Bishop Butler, because he so reasons in his 'Analogy'." Dr. V. adverts to the interesting fact that Butler in effect acknowledges his argument as having been suggested to him by Origen.

IX. ATHANASIUS.

X. GREGORY OF NAZIAZUM.

"To praise Athanasius," said Gregory in his funereal elogy, "is to praise virtue." He calls him the "pillar of the Church." Early ordained a deacon in his native city, Alexandria, he already at the Council of Nice drew attention by the power with which he confuted Arius. On the death of Alexander, he was called to succeed him in the Episcopate by general acclamation. Envy and malignity waited on his steps. Once and again, through the influence of the Arian party, exiled from his home, he once and again was recalled, and continued near fifty years the light of Alexandria and of Christendom. He died in the reign of Valens, in 373.

We associate with his name that of Gregory, who, with Athanasius, and after him, fought illustriously the battles of the faith, both against the Arians, and the Pneumatomachi or deniers of the divinity of the Holy Ghost. He was educated at Athens, and became eminent as a rhetorician. After exercising the pastorate for a time in his native town of Naziazum, he was translated to Constantinople, and long presided over the church there. He died in 389 or 391. His works consist of Orations, Poems, and Letters.

The student will feel interested in reading the exposition of the Arian errors in Athanasius' own words. We give also his testimony to the inspired Canon.

The selection from Gregory (on the Divinity of the Holy Ghost) naturally follows the Anti-Arian argument of Athanasius. It is from his thirty-seventh Oration.

ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΑΡΕΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΓΚΥΚΛΙΟΣ.

Τί δὲ δεῖ λόγων μακρῶν; ὅπουγε καὶ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι κατήγοροι τῆς Ἀρειανῆς αἱρέσεώς εἰσιν· εἰ γὰρ οὐ θαῤῥοῦσιν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κρύπτουσι τὰ ἐκείνων τῆς βλασφημίας ῥήματα, δῆλοί εἰσι γινώσκοντες ξένην καὶ ἀλλοτρίαν τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι τὴν ἅιρεσιν ταύτην· ἐπειδὴ δὲ κρύπτουσιν ἀυτοὶ καὶ φοβοῦνται λέγειν, ἀναγκαῖον ἡμᾶς ἀποδύσασθαὶ κάλυμμα τῆς ἀσεβείας καὶ δειγματίσαι τὴν αἵρεσιν· εἰδότας ἃ τότε οἱ περὶ Ἀρείον ἔλεγον, καὶ πῶς ἐξεβλήθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ καθηρέθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλήρου. συγγνώμην μέν τοι πρότερον αἰτησαμένους, ἐφ᾽ οἷς μέλλομεν προσφέρειν ῥηπαροῖς ῥήμασιν, ὅτι μὴ φρονοῦντες, ἀλλὰ ἐλέγχοντες τοὺς αἱρετικοὺς, ταῦτα λέγομεν· ὁ τοίνυν μακαρίτης Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπίσκοπος, ἐξέβαλε τὸν Ἀρείον τῆς ἐκκλησίας, λέγοντα ταῦτα· οὐκ ἀεὶ ὁ Θεὸς πατὴρ, οὐκ ἀεὶ ἦν ὁ υἱός· ἀλλὰ πάντων ὄντων ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐστὶν, καὶ πάντων ὄντων κτισμάτων, καὶ ἀυτὸς κτίσμα καὶ ποίημά ἐστι· καὶ πάντων οὐκ ὄντων πρότερον ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιγενομένων, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος ἦν ποτε, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν, πρὶν γεννηθῆναι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀρχὴν ἔχει τοῦ εἶναι· τότε γὰρ γέγονεν, ὅτε βεβούληται αὐτὸν ὁ Θεὸς δημιουργῆσαι· ἕν γὰρ τῶν ἔργων ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὸς· καὶ ὅτι μὲν φύσει τρεπτός ἐστι, τῷ δὲ ἰδίῳ αὐτεξουσίῳ βεβούληται μένειν καλὸς, ὅτε μέν τοι θέλει, δύναται τρέπεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ πάντα· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς προγινώσκων ἔσεσθαι καλὸν αὐτὸν, προλαβὼν ταύτην αὐτῳ τὴν δόξαν δέδωκεν, ἣν ἂν καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔσχε μετὰ ταῦτα, ὥστε ἐξ ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὧν προέγνω ὁ Θεὸς τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν νῦν γεγονέναι. λέγουσι γοῦν, ὅτι οὐδὲ Θεὸς ἀληθινός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλὰ μετοχῇ καὶ αὐτὸς, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, λέγεται Θεός· προστιθέασι δὲ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτὸς ὁ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ φύσει, καὶ ἴδιος οὐσίας καὶ ἡ ἰδία σοφία αὐτοῦ Λόγος, ἐν ᾗ τοῦτον πεποίηκε τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ᾽ ἄλλος μὲν λόγος, ὁ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἴδιος, καὶ

ἄλλη ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἀϊδία αὐτῷ σοφία, ἐν ᾗ σοφίᾳ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον πεποίηκεν· αὐτὸς δὲ οὗτος ὁ Κύριος, κατ᾽ ἐπίνοιαν λέγεται λόγος διὰ τὰ λογικὰ, καὶ κατ᾽ ἐπίνοιαν λέγεται σοφια, διὰ τὰ σοφιζόμενα· ἀμέλει, φασὶν, ὅτι ξένων καὶ ἀλλοτρίων ὄντων πάντων, κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς, οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς ξένος μὲν καὶ κατ᾽ ἀλλοτρίος κατὰ πάντα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας ἐστὶν, τῶν δὲ γενητῶν καὶ κτισμάτων ἴδιος καὶ εἷς τυγχάνει, κτίσμα γάρ ἐστι, δὲ ποίημα, καὶ ἔργον· πάλιν τέ φασιν, ὅτι οὐχ ἡμᾶς ἔκτισε δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνον δι᾽ ἡμᾶς· ἦν γάρ, φασι, μόνος ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ λόγος σὺν αὐτῷ, εἶτα θελήσας ἡμᾶς δημιουργῆσαι, τότε πεποίηκε τοῦτον, καὶ ἀφ᾽ οὗ γέγονεν, ὠνόμασεν αὐτὸν λόγον, καὶ υἱὸν, καὶ σοφίαν, ἵνα ἡμὰς δι᾽ αὐτοῦ δημιουργήσῃ· καὶ, ὥσπερ τὰ πάντα βουλήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπέστη, οὐκ ὄντα πρότερον, οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ βουλήματι τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐκ ὢν πρότερον, ἐγενετο· οὐ γάρ ἐστι τοῦ πατρὸς ἴδιον καὶ φύσει γέννημα ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς χάριτι γέγονεν. ὁ γάρ ὢν Θεὸς, τὸν μὴ ὄντα υἱόν πεποίηκε τῇ βουλῇ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὰ πάντα πεποίηκε, καὶ ἐδημιούργησε, καὶ ἔκτισε, καὶ γενέσθαι ἠθέλησε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο λέγουσιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Χριστὸς ἡ φυσικὴ καὶ ἀληθινὴ δυναμις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἡ κάμπη καὶ ὁ βροῦχος λέγονται δύναμις, οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς λέγεται δύναμις τοῦ πατρός. πρὸς τούτοις ἔλεγεν, ὅτι τῷ υἱῷ πατὴρ, ἀόρατος ὑπάρχει, καὶ οὔτε ὁρᾶν, οὔτε γινώσκειν τελείως καὶ ἀκριβῶς ὁ υἱὸς τὸν πατέρα δύναται· ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἔχων τοῦ εἶναί, οὐ δύναται τὸν ἄναρχον γινώσκειν· ἀλλὰ δὲ ὃ γινώσκει, καὶ βλέπει, ἀναλόγως οἶδε τοῖς ἰδίοις μέτροις, καὶ βλέπει, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς γινώσκομεν, καὶ βλέπομεν κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν Θεοῦ δύναμιν. προστιθεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐ μόνον τὸν πατέρα οὐκ οἶδεν ἀκριβῶς, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ οὐσίαν οἶδε. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγων μὲν ὁ Ἀρείος, αἱρετικὸς ἀπεδείχθη· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ μόνον γράφων, ἐθρήνουν ἐμαυτὸν ἐνθυμούμενος τὰ κατὰ τούτων, καὶ κρατῶν τὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας διάνοιαν.

Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδῳ, οἱ συνελθόντες πάντες πανταχόθεν Ἐπίσκοποι, τὰς μὲν ἀκοὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκράτουν, πανψηφοὶ δὲ πάντες, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κατέκριναν τὴν ἅίρεσιν ταύτην, καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισαν, εἰπόντες ἀλλοτρίαν εἶναι καὶ

ξένην ταύτην τῆς Ἐκκλησιάστικῆς πίστεως. οὐκ ἀνάγκη δὲ τοὺς κρίνοντας ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ πάντες προαιρέσει τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐξεδιώκουν, πεποιήκασι δὲ τοῦτο δικαίως καὶ ὀρθῶς. ἀθεότης γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἰσάγεται, καὶ μᾶλλον παρὰ τὰς γραφὰς Ἰουδαϊσμὸς, ἔχων ἐγγὺς ἐπακολουθοῦντα τὸν Ἑλληνισμὸν, ὥστε τὸν ταῦτα φρονοῦντα, μηκέτι Χριστιανὸν καλεῖσθαι· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν γραφῶν ἐστιν ἐναντία· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἰωάννης φησὶν, "ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος," οὗτοι δὲ φάσκουσιν, οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἔγραψε, "καὶ ἐσμὲν ἐν τῷ ἀληθινῷ, ἐν τῷ υἱῷ αὐτου Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ αἰώνιος." οὗτοι δὲ ὥσπερ ἀντιμαχόμενοι, φάσκουσι, μὴ εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἀληθινόν Θεόν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μετοχὴν καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς πάντας λέγεσθαι Θεόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀπόστολος αἰτιᾶται τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅτι κτίσμα σέβουσι, λέγων, ἐλάτρευσαν τὴν κτίσιν παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα Θεόν. οὗτοι δὲ κτίσμα λέγοντες εἶναι τὸν Κύριον, καὶ ὡς κτίσματι λατρεύοντες αὐτῷ, τί διαφέρουσιν Ἑλλήνων; πῶς γὰρ εἰ τοῦτο φρονοῦσιν, οὐχὶ καὶ κατ' αυτῶν ἐστι τὸ ἀνάγνωσμα, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς μεμφόμενός ἐστιν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος; καὶ ὁ μὲν Κύριός φησιν, "ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμεν·" καὶ, "ὁ ἑωρακὼς εμὲ, ἑώρακε τὸν πατέρα·" καὶ ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀποσταλεὶς κηρύττειν Ἀπόστολος γράφει, "ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ·" οὗτοι δέ τολμῶσι διαιρεῖν, καὶ ἀλλότριον αὐτὸν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας, καὶ ἀϊδιότητος λέγειν, καὶ τρεπτὸν εἰσάγειν οἱ ἄθεοι, οὐ βλέποντες, ὅτι ταῦτα λέγοντες, οὐκέτι ποιοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἓν μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν κτισμάτων. Τίς γὰρ οὐχ ὁρᾷ, ὅτι ἀδιαίρετόν ἐστι τὸ ἀπαύγασμα πρὸς τὸ φῶς, καὶ ἴδιον αὐτου συνύπαρχον τούτῳ φύσει, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιγέγονεν ὕστερον; εἶτα τοῦ πατρὸς λέγοντος, "οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς," καὶ τῶν γραφῶν λεγουσῶν, τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς λόγον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν, καὶ ἁπλῶς, πάντα δι αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο· οὗτοι καινῶν ἐφεύρεται δογμάτων καὶ πλαστῶν γενόμενοι, ἕτερον ἐπεισάγουσι λόγον, καὶ ἄλλην σοφίαν τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι. τοῦτον δὲ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν διὰ τὰ λογικὰ λέγεσθαι λόγον καὶ σοφίαν, οὐκ ὁρῶντες ἐκ τούτου τὸ ἄτοπον. εἰ γὰρ δι ἡμᾶς λέγεται κατ' ἐπίνοιαν λόγος

καὶ σοφία, τί ἂν εἴη αὐτὸς, οὐκ ἂν εἴποιεν. Εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα αὐτὸν λέγουσιν εἶναι αἱ γραφαὶ, οὗτοι δὲ ταῦτα εἶναι τὸν Κύριον οὐ θέλουσιν, φανερῶς οὐδὲ ὑπάρχειν αὐτὸν θέλουσιν οἱ ἄθεοι καὶ τῶν γραφῶν ἐναντίοι. καὶ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν πιστοὶ δύνανται παρ' αὐτῆς τε τῆς πατρικῆς φωνῆς, καὶ παρὰ τῶν προσκυνούντων αὐτὸν Ἀγγέλων, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἁγίων γραψάντων μαθεῖν· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπεὶ τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκ ἔχουσι καθαρὰν, οὐδὲ δύνανται θείων ἐπακούειν καὶ θεολόγων ἀνδρῶν, δύνανται κἂν παρὰ τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτοῖς δαιμόνων μαθεῖν, ὅτι μὴ ὡς πολλῶν ὄντων ἀνεφώνουν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μόνον εἰδότες ἔλεγον· "Σὺ εἶ ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ." Καὶ γὰρ ὁ τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτοῖς ὑποβαλλων, πειράζων ἐν τῷ ὄρει, οὐκ ἔλεγεν, εἰ καὶ σὺ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς ὄντων ἄλλων· ἀλλ' ὡς μόνου ὄντος αὐτοῦ, εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἀλλ' οἱ θαυμαστοὶ, ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες ἐκπεσόντες τῆς περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς Θεοῦ ἐννοίας εἰς πολυθεότητα κατῆλθον· οὕτω καὶ οὗτοι μὴ πιστεύοντες ἕνα εἶναι τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς λόγον, εἰς πολλῶν ἐπίνοιαν πεπτώκασι· καὶ τὸν μὲν ὄντως ὄντα Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν λόγον ἀρνοῦνται, κτίσμα δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τετολμήκασιν, οὐ βλέποντες ὅσης ἀσεβείας μεστόν ἐστι τὸ φρόνημα. Εἰ γὰρ κτίσμα ἐστὶ, πῶς αὐτὸς τῶν κτισμάτων ἐστὶ δημιουργός; ἢ πῶς αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς, καὶ σοφία, καὶ Λόγος; Λόγος γὰρ οὐ κτίζεται, ἀλλὰ γεννᾶται, καὶ τὸ κτίσμα οὐχὶ υἱὸς, ἀλλὰ ποίημα. καὶ εἰ τὰ κτίσματα δι' αὐτοῦ γέγονε, κτίσμα δέ ἐστι καὶ αὐτὸς, διὰ τίνος ἄρα καὶ αὐτὸς γέγονεν; ἀνάγκη γὰρ, τὰ ποιήματα διά τινος γίνεσθαι, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ γέγονε διὰ τοῦ λόγου, ὅτι μὴ αὐτὸς ἦν ποίημα, ἀλλὰ λόγος τοῦ πατρός· καὶ πάλιν, εἰ ἄλλη ἐστὶν ἡ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ σοφία παρὰ τόν Κύριον, καὶ ἡ σοφία ἐν σοφίᾳ γέγονεν. Εἰ δὲ σοφία ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος, εἴη ἂν καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐν λόγῳ γεγονώς. Καὶ εἰ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς, εἴη ἂν καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἐν τῷ υἱῷ ποιηθείς. Πῶς τοίνυν ὁ Κύριος ἔλεγεν, ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοὶ, ὄντος ἑτέρου ἐν τῷ πατρὶ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος γέγονε; πῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης, ἀφεὶς ἐκεῖνον, περὶ τούτου διηγεῖται, λέγων πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν; Εἰ δὲ πάντα βουλήματι τὰ γενόμενα δι' αὐτοῦ γέγονεν, πῶς αὐτὸς εἷς τῶν γενομενῶν ἐστί;

πῶς καὶ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου λέγοντος, δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα, καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, οὗτοι λέγουσιν, οὐχ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος δι' ἡμᾶς γέγονεν; ἔδει γὰρ, εἴπερ οὕτως ἦν, εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν, δι' οὓς γέγονεν ὁ λόγος. νῦν δὲ μὴ τοῦτο λέγων, ἀλλὰ δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα, καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, δείκνυσι τούτους αἱρετικοὺς καὶ συκοφάντας. Ἄλλως τε, εἰ τεθαῤῥήκασιν ἄλλον εἶναι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῷ Θεῷ, ἐπεὶ μὴ φανερὰς ἔχουσι τὰς ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν ἀποδείξεις, κἂν ἔργον αὐτοῦ δεικνύτωσαν, εἰ τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργα χωρὶς τοῦ λόγου γεγόνασιν· ἵνα τινὰ ἔχειν δοκῶσι πρόφασιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν διανοίας. Τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀληθινοῦ λόγου, πᾶσίν ἐστι φανερὰ τὰ ἔργα, ὡς καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναλόγως θεωρεῖσθαι. Ὡς γὰρ τὴν κτίσιν ὁρῶντες, διανοούμεθα τὸν ταύτην κτίσαντα Θεὸν, οὕτως βλέποντες μηδὲν ἄτακτον ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις, ἀλλὰ πάντα τάξει καὶ προνοίᾳ κινούμενά τε καὶ μένοντα, ἐνθυμούμεθα λόγον εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων ὄντα τε καὶ ἡγεμονεύοντα· Τοῦτον καὶ αἱ θεῖαι γραφαὶ μαρτυροῦσι λέγουσαι, αὐτόν τε εἶναι τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον, καὶ ὅτι δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν. Ἐκείνου δὲ, περὶ οὗ λέγουσιν, οὐδὲν οὔτε ῥητὸν, οὔτε ἔργον ὑπ' αὐτῶν δείκνυται. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ λέγων, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπητὸς, οὐδένα ἕτερον εἶναι παρ' αὐτὸν σημαίνει. Οὐκοῦν κατὰ τοῦτο Μανιχαίοις λοιπὸν οἱ θαυμαστοὶ προσετέθησαν. Καὶ γὰρ κἀκεῖνοι μόνον ἄχρις ὀνόματος ἀγαθὸν Θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ ἔργον αὐτοῦ οὔτε βλεπόμενον, οὔτε ἀόρατον δεικνύειν δύνανται· τὸν δὲ ἀληθινὸν καὶ ὄντως ὄντα Θεὸν, τὸν ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, καὶ πάντων ἀοράτων ἀρνούμενοι, παντελῶς εἰσι μυθολόγοι.[1]

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[1] It has been remarked that Athanasius uses little argumentation in defence of the Divinity of the Spirit. But, though from circumstances, he threw his soul chiefly into the discussions with Arius and his sect, he earnestly and decidedly oppo-ed the beginning of the Macedonian heresy. See his epistle to Serapion: "κατὰ τῶν λεγόντων, ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κτίσμα ἐστίν."

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΙΑΣ ΓΡΑΦΗΣ.

Ἐπειδή περ τινὲς ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι ἑαυτοῖς τὰ λεγόμενα ἀπόκρυφα, καὶ ἐπιμίξαι ταῦτα τῇ θεοπνεύστῳ γραφῇ, περὶ ἧς ἐπληφορήθημεν, καθὼς παρέδοσαν τοῖς πατράσιν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου· ἔδοξεν κἀμοὶ προτραπέντι παρὰ γνησίων ἀδελφῶν, καὶ μαθόντι, ἄνωθεν ἑξῆς ἐκθέσθαι τὰ κανονιζόμενα καὶ παραδοθέντα πιστευθέντα τε θεῖα εἶναι βιβλία· ἵνα ἕκαστος εἰ μὲν ἠπατήθη, καταγνῷ τῶν πλανησάντων· ὁ δὲ καθαρὸς διαμείνας χαίρῃ πάλιν ὑπομιμνησκόμενος· ἔτι τοίνυν τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία τῷ ἀριθμῷ τὰ πάντα εἰκοσιδύο. Τοσαῦτα γάρ, ὡς ἤκουσα, καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τὰ παρ' Ἑβραίοις εἶναι παραδέδοται. Τῇ δὲ τάξει καὶ τῷ ὀνόματί ἐστιν ἕκαστον, οὕτως· πρῶτον Γένεσις, εἶτα Ἔξοδος, εἶτα Λευιτικὸν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Ἀριθμοὶ, καὶ λοιπὸν τὸ Δευτερονόμιον. Ἑξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυὴ, καὶ Κριταὶ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡ Ῥοῦθ. Καὶ πάλιν ἑξῆς Βασιλεῶν τέσσαρα βιβλία· καὶ τούτων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον[1] εἰς ἓν βιβλίον ἀριθμεῖται· τὸ δὲ τρίτον καὶ τέταρτον ὁμοίως εἰς ἕν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Παραλειπόμενα ά καὶ β', ὁμοίως εἰς ἓν βιβλίον πάλιν ἀριθμούμενα, εἶτα Ἔσδρας ά καὶ β' ὁμοίως εἰς ἕν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα βίβλος ψαλμῶν, καὶ ἑξῆς Παροιμίαι· Εἶτα Ἐκκλησιαστὴς καὶ Ἆσμα ἀσμάτων. Πρὸς τούτοις ἐστὶ καὶ Ἰὼβ καὶ λοιπὸν προφῆται· οἱ μὲν δώδεκα εἰς ἓν βιβλίον ἀριθμούμενοι. Εἶτα Ἡσαΐας, Ἱερεμίας, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Βαροὺχ, θρῆνοι, καὶ ἐπιστολὴ, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἐζεκιὴλ καὶ Δανιήλ· ἄχρι τούτων τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης ἵσταται. Τὰ δὲ τῆς καινῆς παλιν οὐκ ὀκνητέον εἰπεῖν· ἔστι γὰρ ταῦτα. Εὐαγγέλια τέσσαρα· κατὰ Ματθαῖον, κατὰ Μάρκον, κατὰ Λουκᾶν, κατὰ Ἰωάννην· Εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα Πράξεις ἀποστόλων, καὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαὶ καλούμεναι τῶν ἀποστόλων ἑπτά· οὕτως Ἰακώβου μὲν ά, Πέτρου δὲ β'. Εἶτα Ἰωάννου γ'. Καὶ μετὰ ταύτας Ἰούδα ά· πρὸς τούτοις Παύλου ἀποστόλου εἰσὶν ἐπιστολαὶ δεκατέσσαρες τῇ τάξει γραφόμεναι οὕτως· πρώτη πρὸς Ῥωμαίους. Εἶτα πρὸς Κορινθίους δύο· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς Γαλάτας· καὶ ἑξῆς πρὸς Ἐφεσίους. Εἶτα πρὸς Φιλιππησίους καὶ πρὸς Κολασσαεῖς· Καὶ μετὰ ταύτας πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς δύο· καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἑβραίους· καὶ εὐθὺς πρὸς

[1] The names in the Sept. for 1st and 2nd Sam.—Εσδρας β' is Nehemiah.

μὲν Τιμόθεον δύο· πρὸς δὲ Τίτον μία· καὶ τελευταία ἡ πρὸς Φιλήμονα· καὶ πάλιν Ἰωάννου Ἀποκάλυψις. Ταῦτα πηγαὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου, ὥστε τὸν διψῶντα ἐμφορεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν τούτοις λογίων· ἐν τούτοις μόνοις τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας διδασκαλεῖον εὐαγγελίζεται.[1] Μηδεὶς τούτοις ἐπιβαλλέτω, μὴ δὲ τούτων ἀφαιρείσθω τι. Περὶ δὲ τούτων ὁ Κύριος Σαδδουκαίους μὲν ἐδυσώπει, λέγων· πλανᾶσθε μὴ εἰδότες τὰς γραφάς· τοῖς δὲ Ἰουδαίοις παρῄνει· ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς, ὅτι αὐταί εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ. Ἀλλ' ἕνεκά γε πλείονος ἀκριβείας προστίθημι, καὶ τοῦτο γράφων ἀναγκαίως· ὡς ὅτι ἐστὶν καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν, οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν τετυπωμένα[2] δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον· σοφία Σολομῶνος, καὶ σοφία Σιρὰχ, καὶ Ἐσθὴρ, καὶ Ἰουδὶθ, καὶ Τοβίας, καὶ διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ ὁ ποιμήν. Καὶ ὅμως ἀγαπητοὶ, κἀκείνων κανονιζομένων καὶ τούτων ἀναγινωσκομένων οὐδαμοῦ τῶν ἀποκρύφων μνήμη· ἀλλὰ αἱρετικῶν ἐστιν ἐπίνοια, γραφόντων μὲν ὅτε θέλουσιν αὐτά· χαριζομένων δὲ καὶ προστιθέντων αὐτοῖς χρόνους· ἵν' ὡς παλαιὰ προφέροντες, πρόφασιν ἔχωσιν ἀπατᾶν ἐκ τούτου τοὺς ἀκεραίους.

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[1] The student will observe with interest the coincidence of Athanasius' list of acknowledged sacred books with our received canon. Indeed, the book of Baruch is here, "and the letter of Jeremiah." If these be not parts of the book by Jeremiah, they are apocryphal writings, but to which, beyond most of the books so called, the church was slow to refuse the claim to be accounted inspired Scripture. Origen, whose list remarkably agrees with that of Athanasius, includes with Jeremiah the same Baruch, and "the Epistle," so called, of that prophet. Jerome decidedly refuses to acknowledge either. He says, in his prologue to Jeremiah's prophecies, "Libellum autem Baruch qui vulgo editioni Septuaginta copulatur, nec habitur apud Hebræos," and he adds, "et ψευδόγραφον epistolam Jeremiæ nequaquam censui disserendam."

Cyril puts Baruch among the canonical books; and it is the only one of the Deutero-canonical named in the catalogue of the Council of Laodicea. The epistle is not so properly a separate writing, as a chapter of Baruch. Jahn considers it a spurious imitation of the letter of the prophet mentioned in chap. 29 of our received "Jeremiah." For other details on Baruch and the Epistle, see Kitto's Bib. Cyclopedia. "Esther," is ranked by Athanasius as it was by some others, among the *antilegomena*: probably on account of the spurious additions in the Sept. The Jews always received it as canonical. One happy coincidence between the catalogues of Origen and Athanasius is, that both acknowledge the Revelation of John, whose omission from some catalogues, though received from the beginning, is satisfactorily explained by Gaussen.

[2] Meaning, stamped with ecclesiastical authority.

ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΑΖΙΑΝΖΗΝΟΥ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΆΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ.

Ἔχει γὰρ οὕτως· ἐκήρυσσε φανερῶς ἡ παλαιὰ[1] *τὸν πατέρα, τὸν υἱὸν ἀμυδρότερον. Ἐφανέρωσεν ἡ καινὴ τὸν υἱὸν, ὑπέδειξε τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν θεότητα, ἐμπολιτεύεται νῦν τὸ πνεῦμα, σαφεστέραν ἡμῖν παρέχον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δήλωσιν. Οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς, μήπω τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς θεότητος ὁμολογηθείσης, τὸν υἱὸν ἐκδήλως κηρύττεσθαι· μηδὲ τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ παραδεχθείσης, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἵν' εἴπω τί καὶ τολμηρότερον, ἐπιφορτίζεσθαι, μὴ καθάπερ τροφῇ τῇ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν βαρηθέντες, καὶ ἡλιακῷ φωτὶ σαθροτέραν ἔτι προσβαλόντες τὴν ὄψιν, καὶ εἰς τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν κινδυνεύσωσι· Ταῖς δὲ κατὰ μέρος προσθήκαις, καὶ ὡς εἶπε Δαβὶδ, ἀναβάσεσι, καὶ ἐκ δόξης εἰς δόξαν προόδοις, καὶ προκοπαῖς, τὸ τῆς τριάδος φῶς ἐκλάμψῃ τοῖς λαμπροτέροις. Διὰ ταύτην οἶμαι τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς κατὰ μέρος ἐπιδημεῖ, τῇ τῶν δεχομένων δυνάμει παραμετρούμενον, ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, μετὰ τὸ πάθος, μετὰ τὴν ἄνοδον, τὰς δυνάμεις ἐπιτελοῦν ἐκφυσώμενον, ἐν γλώσσαις πυρίναις φαινόμενον, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐκφαίνεται, ὡς ἐπιστήσεις καὶ αὐτὸς ἐντυγχάνων ἐπιμελέστερον. Ἐρωτήσω, φησὶ, τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ἄλλον παράκλητον πέμψει ὑμῖν, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ἵνα μὴ ἀντίθεος εἶναι δόξῃ τις, καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ ἄλλης τινὸς ἐξουσίας ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους. Εἶτα πέμψει μὲν, ἐν δὲ τῷ ὀνόματί μου· τὸ ἐρωτήσω παρεὶς, τὸ πέμψει τετήρηκεν. Εἶτα "πέμψω," τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀξίωμα. Εἶτα ἥξει, ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐξουσία. Ὁρᾷς φωτισμοὺς κατὰ μέρος ἡμῖν ἐλλάμποντας, καὶ τάξιν θεολογίας, ἣν καὶ ἡμᾶς τηρεῖν ἄμεινον, μήτε ἀθρόως ἐκφαίνοντας, μήτε εἰς τέλος κρύπτοντας. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄτεχνον, τὸ δὲ ἄθεον. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους πλῆξαι δυνάμενον, τὸ δὲ ἀλλοτριῶσαι τοὺς ἡμετέρους. Ὃ δὲ ἴσως μὲν ἦλθεν ἤδη τισὶν ἐπὶ νοῦν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐγὼ δὲ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ διανοίας ὑπολαμβάνω καρπὸν, προσθήσω τοῖς εἰρημένοις· ἥν τινα τῷ*

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[1] He is referring to the Old and New Testaments.

σωτῆρι, καὶ εἰ πολλῶν ἐνεπίμπλαντο μαθημάτων, ἃ μὴ δύνασθαι τότε βασταχθῆναι, τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐλέγετο, δι' ἃς εἶπον ἴσως αἰτίας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρεκαλύπτετο. Καὶ πάλιν, πάντα διδαχθήσεσθαι ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνδημήσαντος. Τούτων ἓν εἶναι νομίζω, καὶ αὐτὴν τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν θεότητα τρανουμένην εἰς ὕστερον, ὡς τηνικαῦτα ὡρίμου, καὶ χωρητῆς ἤδη τυγχανούσης τῆς γνώσεως, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀποκατάστασιν, οὐκέτι ἀπιστουμένου τῷ θαύματι. Τί γὰρ ἂν τούτου μεῖζον, ἢ ἐκεῖνος ὑπέσχετο, ἢ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐδίδαξεν; εἴπερ τι μέγα οἴεσθαι χρὴ, καὶ Θεοῦ μεγαλοπρεπείας ἄξιον, τὸ ὑπισχνούμενον, ἢ τὸ διδασκόμενον. Ἔχω μὲν οὕτω περὶ τούτων, καὶ ἔχοιμι. Καὶ ὅς τις ἐμοὶ φίλος, σέβειν Θεὸν τὸν πατέρα, Θεὸν τὸν υἱὸν, Θεὸν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τρεῖς ἰδιότητας, θεότητα μίαν δόξῃ, καὶ τιμῇ, καὶ οὐσίᾳ καὶ βασιλείᾳ μὴ μεριζομένην, ὥς τις τῶν μικρῷ πρόσθεν θεοφόρων ἐφιλοσόφησεν. Ἢ μὴ ἴδοι ἑωσφόρον ἀνατέλλοντα, ὥς φησιν ἡ γραφὴ, μηδὲ δόξαν τῆς ἐκεῖθεν λαμπρότητος, ὅς τις οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει ἢ συμφέρεται τοῖς καιροῖς, ἄλλοτε ἄλλος γινόμενος, καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων σαθρῶς βουλευόμενος. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ οὐ προσκυνητὸν, πῶς ἐμὲ θεοῖ διὰ βαπτίσματος, εἰ δὲ προσκυνητὸν, πῶς οὐ σεπτόν; εἰ δὲ σεπτὸν, πῶς οὐ Θεός; ἓν ἤρτηται τοῦ ἑνὸς, ἡ χρυσῆ τις ὄντως σειρὰ καὶ σωτήριος. Καὶ παρὰ μὲν τοῦ πνεύματος ἡμῖν ἡ ἀναγέννησις. Παρὰ δὲ τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως, ἡ ἀνάπλασις· παρὰ δὲ τῆς ἀναπλάσεως, ἡ ἐπίγνωσις τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ ἀναπλάσαντος. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἴποι τὶς ἂν, τὸ ἄγραφον ὑποθέμενος, ἤδη δὲ ἥξει σοι, καὶ ὁ τῶν μαρτυριῶν ἑσμός. Ἐξ ὧν ὅτι καὶ λίαν ἔγγραφος ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος θεότης ἐπιδειχθήσεται, τοῖς μὴ λίαν σκαιοῖς, μηδὲ ἀλλοτρίοις τοῦ πνεύματος. Σκόπει δὲ οὕτως, γεννᾶται Χριστὸς, προτρέχει· βαπτίζεται, μαρτυρεῖ· πειράζεται, ἀνάγει· δυνάμεις ἐπιτελεῖ, συμπαρομαρτεῖ· ἀνέρχεται, διαδέχεται. τί γὰρ οὐ δύναται τῶν μεγάλων, καὶ ὧν θεός; τὶ δαὶ οὐ προσαγορεύεται, ὧν Θεὸς, πλὴν ἀγεννησίας, καὶ γεννήσεως; ἔδει γὰρ τὰς ἰδιότητας μεῖναι πατρὶ, καὶ υἱῷ ἵνα μὴ σύγχυσις ᾖ παρὰ τῇ Θεότητι, τῇ καὶ τἄλλα εἰς τάξιν ἀγούσῃ καὶ ἀκοσμίαν.

Ἐγὼ μὲν φρίττω τὸν πλοῦτον ἐννοῶν τῶν κλήσεων, καὶ καθ' ὅσων ὀνομάτων ἀναισχυντοῦσιν, οἱ τῷ πνεύματι ἀντιπίπτοντες· Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, λέγεται, πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ, νοῦς

Χριστοῦ, πνεῦμα Κυρίου, αὐτοκύριος· Πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας, ἀληθείας, ἐλευθερίας. Πνεῦμα σοφίας, συνέσεως, βουλῆς, ἰσχύος, γνώσεως, εὐσεβείας, φοβοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ γὰρ ποιητικὸν τούτων ἁπάντων, πάντα τῇ οὐσίᾳ πληροῦν, πάντα συνέχον, πληρωτικὸν κόσμου κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἀχώρητον κόσμῳ κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν, ἀγαθὸν, εὐθὲς, ἡγεμονικὸν, φύσει οὐ θέσει· ἁγιάζον, οὐχ ἁγιαζόμενον. μετροῦν, οὐ μετρούμενον· μετεχόμενον, οὐ μετέχον· πληροῦν, οὐ πληρούμενον· συνέχον, οὐ συνεχόμενον. κληρονομούμενον, δοξαζόμενον, συναριθμούμενον, ἐπαπειλούμενον, δάκτυλος Θεοῦ, πῦρ ὡς Θεὸς, εἰς ἔμφασιν οἶμαι τοῦ ὁμοουσίου. Πνεῦμα τὸ ποιῆσαν, τὸ ἀνακτίζον διὰ βαπτίσματος, δι' ἀναστάσεως. Πνεῦμα τὸ γινῶσκον ἅπαντα, τὸ διδάσκον, τὸ πνέον ὅπου θέλει, καὶ ὅσον, ὁδηγοῦν, λαλοῦν, ἀποστέλλον, ἀφορίζον, παροξυνόμενον, πειραζόμενον, ἀποκαλυπτικὸν, φωτιστικὸν, ζωτικόν. Μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτοφῶς καὶ ζωὴ, ναοποιοῦν, θεοποιοῦν, τελειοῦν, ὥστε καὶ προλαμβάνειν τὸ βάπτισμα, ἐπιζητεῖσθαι μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα, ἐνεργοῦν ὅσα Θεὸς, μεριζόμενον ἐν γλώσσαις πυρίναις, διαιροῦν χαρίσματα, ποιοῦν Ἀποστόλους, προφήτας, εὐαγγελιστὰς, ποιμένας, καὶ διδασκάλους, νοερὸν, πολυμερὲς, σαφὲς, τρανὸν, ἀμόλυντον, ἀκώλυτον. Ὥπερ ἴσον δύναται, τὸ σοφώτατον καὶ πολύτροπον ταῖς ἐνεργείαις, καὶ σαφηνιστικὸν πάντων, καὶ τρανωτικὸν, καὶ αὐτεξούσιον, καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον, παντοδύναμον, παντεπίσκοπον, διὰ πάντων χωροῦν πνευμάτων, νοερῶν, καθαρῶν, λεπτοτάτων, ἀγγελικῶν, οἶμαι δυνάμεων, ὥσπερ καὶ προφητικῶν, καὶ Ἀποστολικῶν, κατὰ ταυτὸν, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις, ἄλλων δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ νενεμημένων, ᾧ δηλοῦται τὸ ἀπερίγραπτον. Οἱ ταῦτα λέγοντες καὶ διδάσκοντες, καὶ πρός γε ἄλλον παράκλητον οἷον ἄλλον Θεὸν ὀνομάζοντες, οἱ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν βλασφημίαν μόνην εἰδότες ἀσυγχώρητον, οἱ τὸν Ἀνανίαν καὶ τὴν Σάπφειραν οὕτω φοβερῶς στηλιτεύσαντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐψεύσαντο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὡς Θεὸν ψευσαμένους, οὐκ ἄνθρωπον· οὗτοι τί σοι δοκοῦσι, πότερον Θεὸν τὸ πνεῦμα κηρύσσειν ἢ ἄλλο τι; ὡς λίαν ὄντως παχύς τις εἶ καὶ πόῤῥω τοῦ πνεύματος, εἰ τοῦτο ἀπορεῖς, καὶ δέῃ τοῦ διδάξοντος. αἱ μὲν οὖν κλήσεις τοσαῦται, καὶ οὕτως ἔμψυχοι.

Τί γὰρ δεῖ σοι τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ῥημάτων μαρτυρίας παρατί-

θεσθαι; ὅσα δὲ κἀνταῦθα λέγεται ταπεινότερον, τὸ δίδοσθαι, τὸ ἀποστέλλεσθαι, τὸ μερίζεσθαι, τὸ χάρισμα, τὸ δώρημα, τὸ ἐμφύσημα, ἡ ἐπαγγελία, ἡ ὑπερέντευξις, εἴ τέ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον, ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστον λέγω, ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην αἰτίαν ἀνενεκτέον, ἵνα τὸ ἐξ οὗ δειχθῇ καὶ μὴ τρεῖς ἀρχαὶ μεμερισμέναι πολυθέως παραδεχθῶσιν· Ἴσον γὰρ εἰς ἀσέβειαν, καὶ Σαβελλίως συνάψαι, καὶ Ἀρειανῶς διαστῆσαι. Τὸ μὲν τῷ προσώπῳ, τὸ δὲ ταῖς φύσεσιν, ὡς ἔγωγε πολλὰ διασκεψάμενος πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν τῇ φιλοπραγμοσύνῃ τοῦ νοῦ, καὶ πανταχόθεν τὸν λόγον εὐθύνας, καὶ ζητῶν εἰκόνα τινὰ τοῦ τοσούτου πράγματος, οὐκ ἔσχον ᾧ τινι χρὴ κάτω τὴν θείαν φύσιν παραβαλεῖν· κἂν γὰρ μικρά τις ὁμοίωσις εὑρεθῇ, φεύγει με τὸ πλέον, ἀφὲν κάτω μετὰ τοῦ ὑποδείγματος, ὀφθαλμόν τινα καὶ πηγὴν, καὶ ποταμὸν, ἐνενόησα. Καὶ γὰρ καί ἄλλοι, μὴ τῷ μὲν ὁ πατὴρ, τῷ δὲ ὁ υἱὸς, τῷ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀναλόγως ἔχῃ· Ταῦτα γὰρ οὔτε χρόνῳ διέστηκεν, οὔτε ἀλλήλων ἀπέῤῥηκται τῇ συνεχείᾳ. Κἂν δοκεῖ πως τρισὶν ἰδιότησι τέμνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἔδεισα πρῶτον μὲν ῥύσιν τινὰ θεότητος παραδέξασθαι, στάσιν οὐκ ἔχουσαν. Δεύτερον δὲ μὴ τὸ ἓν τῷ ἀριθμῷ διὰ τῆς εἰκασίας ταύτης εἰσάγηται. Ὀφθαλμὸς γὰρ καὶ πηγὴ, καὶ ποταμὸς, ἕν ἐστιν ἀριθμῷ, διαφόρως σχηματιζόμενα. Πάλιν ἥλιος ἐνεθυμήθην καὶ ἀκτῖνα καὶ φῶς. Ἀλλὰ κἀνταῦθα δέος, πρῶτον μὲν, μὴ σύνθεσίς τις ἐπινοῆται τῆς ἀσυνθέτου φύσεως, ὥσπερ ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡλίῳ. Δεύτερον δὲ, μὴ τὸν πατέρα μὲν οὐσιώσωμεν, τἆλλα δὲ μὴ ὑποστήσωμεν, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεις Θεοῦ ποιήσωμεν ἐνυπαρχούσας, οὐχ ὑφεστώσας. Οὔτε γὰρ ἀκτὶς, οὔτε φῶς, ἄλλος ἥλιος, ἀλλ' ἡλιακαί τινες ἀπόῤῥοιαι καὶ ποιότητες οὐσιώδεις· καὶ ἅμα τὸ εἶναι καὶ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τῷ Θεῷ, δῶμεν ἐν τούτοις, ὅσον ἐκ τοῦ ὑποδείγματος, ὃ καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀτοπώτερον. Ἤκουσα δέ τινος καὶ τοιοῦτον ὑπογράφοντος λόγον, μαρμαρυγήν τινα ἡλιακὴν τοίχῳ προσαστράπτουσαν καὶ περιτρέμουσαν ἐξ ὑδάτων κινήσεως, ἣν ἡ ἀκτὶς ὑπαλαβοῦσα διὰ τοῦ ἐν μέσῳ ἀέρος, εἶτα σχεθεῖσα τῷ ἀντιτύπῳ, παλμὸς ἐγένετο καὶ παράδοξος. Ἅπτει γὰρ πολλαῖς καὶ πυκναῖς ταῖς κινήσεσιν, οὐχ ἓν οὖσα μᾶλλον ἢ πολλά· οὐδὲ πολλὰ μᾶλλον, ἢ ἕν, τῷ τάχει τῆς συνόδου καὶ τῆς διαστάσεως, πρὶν ὄψει κρατηθῆναι δια-

διδράσκουσα. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο θέσθαι δυνατὸν ἐμοὶ, δί ἓν μὲν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν τὸ κινῆσαν καὶ πάνυ δῆλον, Θεοῦ δὲ οὐδὲν πρεσβύτερον· ἵν' ᾖ τὸ τοῦτον κεκινηκός. Αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ πάντων αἰτία· αἰτίαν δὲ πρεσβυτέραν οὐκ ἔχει. Δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι κἀνταῦθα τῶν αὐτῶν ὑπόνοια, συνθέσεως, χύσεως, ἀστάτου καὶ οὐ παγίας φύσεως. Ὧν οὐδὲν ἐννοητέον περὶ θεότητος· καὶ ὅλως οὐδέν ἐστιν ὅ μοι τὴν διάνοιαν ἵστησιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποδειγμάτων θεωροῦντι τὸ φανταζόμενον, πλὴν εἴ τις ἕν τι λαβὼν τῆς εἰκόνος, ὑπ' εὐγνωμοσύνης, τὰ λοιπὰ ῥίψειεν. Τέλος οὖν ἔδοξέ μοι κράτιστον εἶναι, τὰς μὲν εἰκόνας χαίρειν ἐᾶσαι καὶ τὰς σκιὰς, ὡς ἀπατηλὰς, καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πλεῖστον ἀποδεούσας, αὐτὸν δὲ τῆς εὐσεβεστέρας ἐννοίας ἐχόμενον, ἐπ' ὀλίγων ῥημάτων ἱστάμενον, ὁδηγῷ τῷ πνεύματι χρώμενον, ἣν ἐντεῦθεν ἔλλαμψιν ἐδεξάμην, ταύτην εἰς τέλος διαφυλάσσοντα, ὡς γνησίαν κοινωνὸν καὶ συνόμιλον, τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦτον διαπορεύεσθαι διατέμνοντα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πείθειν εἰς δύναμιν, προσκυνεῖν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὴν μίαν θεότητά τε καὶ δύναμιν. Ὅτι αὐτῷ πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ, κράτος, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

XI. JOHN, CHRYSOSTOM.

This was, of all the fathers, the greatest orator. He was acknowledged as indeed the golden mouthed, or *χρυσοῤῥήμων* the golden speaker. Subsequent writers exhaust language in their tributes to his eloquence. Suidas likened the copious flow of his words to the cataracts of the Nile.

Chrysostom shines as a commentator also. Theologians of all times have drawn largely on his expositions of Scripture. Daillé and Isaac Taylor have noted expressions on repentance or good works, not quite reconcilable with evangelic truth. Too much sometimes there is of favour for monasticism and virginity; and on the sacraments, what is extravagant. These last passages have been claimed by advocates of transubstantiation, but apologised for as figurative by protestant writers. He doubtless gloried in the cross of Christ, and loved his Master. He was faithful to his cause as a public reprover of sins in Christians, or negligence in those who serve the altar. We present some of his views on the responsibility of the sacred office; and some impressive touches—in his Attic style—on the character of St. Paul.

Chrysostom ministered first at Antioch, his native place; afterwards was Bishop of Constantinople. Like Athanasius, he encountered the envy of false brethren, and the tyranny of imperial power;—exiled for a time, but recalled. He died in 407.

ΠΕΡΙ ΙΕΡΩΣΥΝΗΣ.

ΛΟΓΟΣ Β′.

* * * * Καὶ τί τούτου τοῦ κέρδους, ἔφην, ἂν γένοιτο μεῖζον, ἢ τὸ ταῦτα φαίνεσθαι πράττοντας, ἅπερ δείγματα τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγάπης, αὐτὸς ἔφησεν εἶναι ὁ Χριστὸς; Πρὸς γὰρ τὸν κορυφαῖον τῶν ἀποστόλων διαλεγόμενος· Πέτρε, φησὶν, φιλεῖς με; τούτου δὲ ὁμολογήσαντος, ἐπιλέγει· εἰ φιλεῖς με, ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου· Ἐρωτᾷ τὸν μαθητὴν ὁ διδάσκαλος, εἰ φιλοῖτο παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ, οὐχ ἵνα αὐτὸς μάθῃ· πῶς γὰρ, ὁ τὰς ἁπάντων ἐμβατεύων καρδίας; ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα ἡμᾶς διδάξῃ, ὅσον αὐτῷ μέλει τῆς τῶν ποιμνίων ἐπιστασίας τούτων· Τούτου δὲ ὄντος δήλου, κἀκεῖνο ὁμοίως ἔσται φανερὸν, ὅτι πολὺς καὶ ἄφατος ἀποκείσεται μισθὸς τῷ περὶ ταῦτα πονουμένῳ, ἃ πολλοῦ τιμᾶται ὁ Χριστός. Εἰ γὰρ ἡμεῖς, ὅτ᾽ ἂν ἴδωμεν τῶν οἰκετῶν ἢ τῶν οἰκείων, τῶν θρεμμάτων τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπιμελουμένους, τινὰς, τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀγάπης τὴν εἰς ἐκεῖνα σπουδὴν τιθέμεθα σημεῖον, καίτοι γε ταῦτα πάντα χρημάτων ἐστὶν ὠνητά· ὁ μὴ χρημάτων, μηδὲ ἄλλου τινὸς τοιούτου, ἀλλ᾽ ἰδίῳ θανάτῳ τὸ ποίμνιον πριάμενος τοῦτο, καὶ τιμὴν τῆς ἀγέλης τὸ αἷμα δοὺς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ, πόσῃ τοὺς ποιμαίνοντας αὐτὸ ἀμείψεται δωρεᾷ; διά τοι τοῦτο εἰπόντος τοῦ μαθητοῦ, "σὺ οἶδας Κύριε, ὅτι φιλῶ σε," καὶ μάρτυρα τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτὸν τὸν ἀγαπώμενον καλέσαντος, οὐκ ἔστη μέχρι τούτου ὁ Σωτὴρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης προσέθηκε σημεῖον. Οὐ γὰρ ὅσον ὁ Πέτρος αὐτὸν ἐφίλει, τότε ἐπιδεῖξαι ἐβούλετο (καὶ

[1] This discourse has the form of a dialogue between Chrysostom and Basil. They had been early associates, and admirers of one another. It is said that Chrysostom, himself shrinking from undertaking the Pastorate, procured by a sort of stratagem, that holy hands should be laid on Basil. Chrysostom incurred suspicion or reproach. He is in this dialogue apologising for himself, and shows his estimate of the greatness of the work of a Priest. The identifying of the ministry with the priesthood was an idea that early sprung up, probably naturally and innocently—suggested by scripture language: superstition soon abused it.

γὰρ ἐκ πολλῶν τοῦτο ἤδη ἡμῖν γέγονε δῆλον·) ἀλλ' ὅσον αὐτὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀγαπᾷ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ Πέτρον καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς μαθεῖν ἠθέλησεν, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς πολλὴν περὶ αὐτὰ εἰσφέρωμεν τὴν σπουδήν. Διὰ τί γὰρ υἱοῦ καὶ μονογενοῦς οὐκ ἐφείσατο ὁ Θεὸς, ἀλλ' ὃν μόνον εἶχεν, ἐξέδωκεν; ἵνα τοὺς ἐχθρωδῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένους ἑαυτῷ καταλλάξῃ καὶ ποιήσῃ λαὸν περιούσιον. διὰ τί καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐξέχεεν; ἵνα τὰ πρόβατα κτήσηται ταῦτα, ἃ τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐνεχείρισεν.[1] *Εἰκότως ἄρα ἔλεγεν ὁ Χριστός· Τίς ἄρα ὁ πιστὸς δοῦλος καὶ φρόνιμος, ὃν κατέστησεν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ; πάλιν τὰ μὲν ῥήματα ἀποροῦντος, ὁ δὲ φθεγγόμενος αὐτὰ οὐκ ἀπορῶν ἐφθέγγετο. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὸν Πέτρον ἐρωτῶν, εἰ φιλοῖτο, οὐ μαθεῖν δεόμενος τοῦ μαθητοῦ τὸν πόθον ἠρώτα, ἀλλὰ δεῖξαι βουλόμενος τῆς οἰκείας ἀγάπης τὴν ὑπερβολήν· οὕτω καὶ νῦν λέγων· Τίς ἄρα ὁ πιστὸς δοῦλος καὶ φρόνιμος; οὐ τὸν πιστὸν καὶ φρόνιμον ἀγνοῶν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ παραστῆσαι θέλων τὸ τοῦ πράγματος σπάνιον, καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης τὸ μέγεθος. Ὅρα γοῦν καὶ τὸ ἔπαθλον ὅσον· ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῦ καταστήσει αὐτόν. Ἔτι οὖν ἀμφισβητήσεις ἡμῖν τοῦ μὴ καλῶς ἠπατῆσθαι, πᾶσι μέλλων ἐπιστήσεσθαι τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα πράττων, ἃ καὶ τὸν Πέτρον ποιοῦντα ἔφησε*[2] *δυνήσεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑπερακοντίσαι τοὺς λοιπούς. Πέτρε γάρ, φησι, φιλεῖς με πλεῖον τούτων; καίτοι γ' ἐνῆν εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν, εἰ φιλεῖς με, νηστείαν ἄσκει, χαμευνίαν,*[3] *ἀγρυπνίας συντόνους, προΐστασο τῶν ἀδικουμένων, γίνου ὀρφανοῖς ὡς πατὴρ, καὶ ἀντὶ ἀνδρὸς τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῶν. νῦν δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἀφεὶς, τί φησι; "ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου."*

II. *Ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ, ἃ προεῖπον, καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων*

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[1] *Τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον.* It is in vain that Romanists lay hold of this expression. "The successors of Peter," as the context shows, a few lines before, (*καὶ Πέτ. καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς*) include his successors in all times and places, pastors of all Christ's sheep, and thus Basil himself. St. Ambrose on that passage says, "Claves illas quas in beato Petro Apostolo cuncti suscepimus sacerdotes." So Junius refutes Bellarmines' argument from this dialogue.—A. E. Leo's *Chrysostom.*

[2] Some write it *ἐφῆκε.*

[3] *χαμευνίαν,* prostrating on the ground.

πολλοὶ δύναιντ' ἂν ἐπιτελεῖν ῥᾳδίως, οὐκ ἄνδρες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκες· ὅταν δὲ ἐκκλησίας προστῆναι δέῃ, καὶ ψυχῶν ἐπιμέλειαν πιστευθῆναι τοσούτων, πᾶσα μὲν ἡ γυναικεία φύσις παραχωρείτω τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ ἀνδρῶν δὲ τὸ πλέον· ἀγέσθωσαν δὲ εἰς μέσον οἱ πολλῷ τῷ μέτρῳ πλεονεκτοῦντες ἁπάντων, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὑψηλότεροι τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ὄντες ἀρετὴν, ὅσον τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους Ἑβραίων κατὰ τὸ τοῦ σώματος μέγεθος ὁ Σαοὺλ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πολλῷ πλέον. Μὴ γάρ μοι μόνον ὑπερωμίας ἐνταῦθα ζητείσθω μέτρον, ἀλλ' ὅση πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα τῶν λογικῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ διαφορὰ, τοσοῦτον τοῦ ποιμένος καὶ τῶν ποιμαινομένων ἔστω τὸ μέσον, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πλέον τι εἴπω· καὶ γὰρ περὶ πολλῷ μειζόνων ὁ κίνδυνος. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρόβατα ἀπολλὺς, ἢ λύκων ἁρπασάντων, ἢ λῃστῶν ἐπιστάντων, ἢ λοιμοῦ τινος, ἢ καὶ ἄλλου συμπτώματος ἐπιπεσόντος, τύχοι μὲν ἄν τινος καὶ συγγνώμης παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῆς ποίμνης· εἰ δὲ καὶ δίκην ἀπαιτοῖτο, μέχρι τῶν χρημάτων ἡ ζημία. ὁ δὲ ἀνθρώπους πιστευθεὶς, τὸ λογικὸν τοῦ Χριστου ποίμνιον, πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ εἰς χρήματα, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν τὴν ζημίαν ὑφίσταται, ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν προβάτων ἀπωλείας. Ἔπειτα καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα πολλῷ μείζονα καὶ χαλεπώτερον ἔχει. οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς λύκους ἡ μάχη, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ λῃστῶν δέδοικεν, οὐδὲ ἵνα λοιμὸν ἀπελάσῃ τῆς ποίμνης φροντίζει· ἀλλὰ πρὸς τίνας ὁ πόλεμος; μετὰ τίνων ἡ μάχη; Ἄκουε τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου λέγοντος. οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις. Εἶδες πολεμίων πλῆθος δεινὸν, καὶ φάλαγγας ἀγρίας, οὐ σιδήρῳ πεφραγμένας, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ πάσης πανοπλίας ἀρκουμένας τῇ φύσει; Βούλει καὶ ἕτερον στρατόπεδον ἰδεῖν ἀπηνὲς καὶ ὠμὸν, ταύτῃ προσεδρεῦον τῇ ποίμνῃ; καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄψει περιωπῆς. ὁ γὰρ περὶ ἐκείνων διαλεχθεὶς, οὗτος καὶ τούτους ἡμῖν ὑποδεικνύει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, ὧδέ πως λέγων· Φανερὰ δέ ἐστι τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς ἔργα, ἅτινά ἐστι, πορνεία, μοιχεία, ἀκαθαρσία, ἀσέλγεια, εἰδωλολατρεία, φαρμακεία, ἔχθραι, ἔρεις, ζῆλοι, θυμοὶ, ἐριθεῖαι, καταλαλιαὶ, ψιθυρισμοὶ,

φυσιώσεις, ἀκαταστασίαι, καὶ ἕτερα τούτων πλείονα. οὐ γὰρ πάντα κατέλεξεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτων ἀφῆκεν εἰδέναι καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ποιμένος τῶν ἀλόγων, οἱ βουλόμενοι διαφθεῖραι τὴν ἀγέλην, ὅταν ἴδωσι τὸν ἐφεστῶτα φεύγοντα, τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μάχην ἀφέντες ἀρκοῦνται τῇ τῶν θρεμμάτων ἁρπαγῇ· ἐνταῦθα δὲ, κἂν ἅπασαν λάβωσι τὴν ποίμνην, οὐδ' οὕτω τοῦ ποιμαίνοντος ἀφίστανται, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐφεστήκασι, καὶ πλέον θρασύνονται, καὶ οὐ πρότερον παύονται, ἕως ἂν ἢ καταβάλωσιν ἐκεῖνον, ἢ νικηθῶσιν αὐτοί. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, τὰ μὲν τῶν θρεμμάτων νοσήματα καθέστηκε φανερὰ, κἂν λιμὸς ᾖ, κἂν λοιμὸς, κἂν τραῦμα, κἂν ὅτι δηποτοῦν ἕτερον ᾖ τὸ λυποῦν· οὐ μικρὸν δὲ τοῦτο δύναιτ' ἂν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐνοχλούντων ἀπαλλαγήν. Ἔνι δέ τι καὶ ἕτερον τούτου μεῖζον, τὸ ποιοῦν ταχεῖαν τῆς ἀῤῥωστίας ἐκείνης τὴν λύσιν. τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι; μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἐξουσίας καταναγκάζουσι τὰ πρόβατα οἱ ποιμένες δέχεσθαι τὴν ἰατρείαν, ὅτ' ἂν ἑκόντα μὴ ὑπομένῃ. καὶ γὰρ δῆσαι εὔκολον, ὅτ' ἂν καῦσαι δέῃ καὶ τεμεῖν· καὶ φυλάξαι ἔνδον ἐπὶ χρόνον πολὺν, ἡνίκα ἂν τοῦτο συμφέρῃ· καὶ ἑτέραν δὲ ἀνθ' ἑτέρας προσαγαγεῖν τροφὴν, καὶ ἀποκωλῦσαι ναμάτων· καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ πάντα, ὅσα περ ἂν δοκιμάσωσι πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ὑγίειαν συμβαλλέσθαι, μετὰ πολλῆς προσάγουσι τῆς εὐκολίας. Τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀῤῥωστίας, πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπῳ ῥᾴδιον ἰδεῖν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ οἶδε τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ.

III. Πῶς οὖν τις προσαγάγοι τῆς νόσου τὸ φάρμακον, ἧς τὸν τρόπον οὐκ οἶδε, πολλάκις δὲ μηδὲ εἰ τυγχάνοι νοσῶν δυνάμενος συνιδεῖν; Ἐπειδὰν δὲ καὶ καταφανὴς γένηται, τότε πλείον' αὐτῷ παρέχει τὴν δυσχέρειαν. Οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μετὰ τοσαύτης ἐξουσίας ἅπαντας θεραπεύειν ἀνθρώπους, μεθ' ὅσης τὸ πρόβατον ὁ ποιμήν. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα καὶ δῆσαι, καὶ τροφῆς ἀπεῖρξαι, καὶ καῦσαι, καὶ τεμεῖν· ἀλλ' ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ δέξασθαι τὴν ἰατρείαν, οὐκ ἐν τῷ προσάγοντι τὸ φάρμακον, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τῷ κάμνοντι κεῖται. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ὁ θαυμάσιος ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ συνειδὼς Κορινθίοις ἔλεγεν· Οὐχ ὅτι κυριεύομεν ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως, ἀλλὰ συνεργοί ἐσμεν τῆς χαρᾶς ὑμῶν. Μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ ἁπάντων Χριστιανοῖς οὐκ

ἐφεῖται πρὸς βίαν ἐπανορθοῦν τὰ τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων πταίσματα. Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔξωθεν δικασταὶ τοὺς κακούργους ὅταν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις λάβωσι, πολλὴν ἐπιδείκνυνται τὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ ἄκοντας τοῖς τρόποις κωλύουσι χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτῶν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐ βιαζόμενον, ἀλλὰ πείθοντα δεῖ ποιεῖν ἀμείνω τὸν τοιοῦτον. Οὔτε γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐξουσία τοσαύτη παρὰ τῶν νόμων δέδοται πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας· οὔτε, εἰ καὶ ἔδωκαν, εἴχομεν ὅποι καὶ χρησώμεθα τῇ δυνάμει· οὐ τοὺς ἀνάγκῃ τῆς κακίας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς προαιρέσει ταύτης ἀπεχομένους στεφανοῦντος τοῦ Θεοῦ. Διὰ τοῦτο πολλῆς χρεία τῆς μηχανῆς, ἵνα πεισθῶσιν ἑκόντες ἑαυτοὺς ὑπέχειν ταῖς παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων θεραπείαις οἱ κάμνοντες· καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ χάριν εἰδῶσι τῆς ἰατρείας αὐτοῖς. Ἄν τε γάρ τις σκιρτήσῃ δεθεὶς (κύριος γάρ ἐστι τούτου,) χεῖρον εἰργάσατο τὸ δεινόν· ἄν τε τοὺς σιδήρου τέμνοντας δίκην παραπέμψηται λόγους, προσέθηκε διὰ τῆς καταφρονήσεως τραῦμα ἕτερον, καὶ γέγονεν ἡ τῆς θεραπείας πρόφασις νόσου χαλεπωτέρας ὑπόθεσις. Ὁ γὰρ καταναγκάζων καὶ ἄκοντα θεραπεῦσαι δυνάμενος οὐκ ἔστι.

IV. *Τί οὖν ἄν τις ποιήσειε; καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν πραότερον προσενεχθῇς τῷ πολλῆς ἀποτομίας δεομένῳ, καὶ μὴ δῷς βαθεῖαν τὴν τομὴν τῷ τοιαύτης χρείαν ἔχοντι· τὸ μὲν περιέκοψας, τὸ δὲ ἀφῆκας τοῦ τραύματος. κἂν ἀφειδῶς τὴν ὀφειλομένην ἐπαγάγῃς τομὴν, πολλάκις ἀπογνοὺς πρὸς τὰς ἀλγηδόνας ἐκεῖνος, ἀθρόως πάντα ἀποῤῥίψας, καὶ τὸ φάρμακον καὶ τὸν ἐπίδεσμον, φέρων ἑαυτὸν κατεκρήμνισε, συντρίψας τὸν ζυγὸν, καὶ διαῤῥήξας τὸν δεσμόν. καὶ πολλοὺς ἂν ἔχοιμι λέγειν, τοὺς εἰς ἔσχατα ἐξοκείλαντας κακὰ, διὰ τὸ δίκην ἀπαιτηθῆναὶ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀξίαν. Οὐ γὰρ ἁπλῶς πρὸς τὸ τῶν παραπτωμάτων μέτρον δεῖ καὶ τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν ἐπάγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων στοχάζεσθαι προαιρέσεως· μή ποτε ῥάψαι τὸ διεῤῥωγὸς βουλόμενος, χεῖρον τὸ σχίσμα ποιήσῃς, καὶ ἀνορθῶσαι τὸ καταπεπτωκὸς σπουδάζων, μείζονα ἐργάσῃ τὴν πτῶσιν. Οἱ γὰρ ἀσθενεῖς καὶ διακεχυμένοι, καὶ τὸ πλέον τῇ τοῦ κόσμου προσδεδεμένοι τρυφῇ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ γένει καὶ δυναστείᾳ μέγα φρονεῖν ἔχοντες, ἠρέμα μὲν καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν, ἐν οἷς ἂν ἁμαρτάνωσιν, ἐπιστρεφόμενοι, δύναιντ' ἂν,*

εἰ καὶ μὴ τέλεον, ἀλλὰ γοῦν ἐκ μέρους τῶν κατεχόντων αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλαγῆναι κακῶν· ἂν δὲ ἀθρόον τὶς ἐπαγάγῃ τὴν παίδευσιν, καὶ τῆς ἐλάττονος αὐτοὺς ἀπεστέρησε διορθώσεως. Ψυχὴ γὰρ ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ ἀπερυθριᾶσαι βιασθῇ, εἰς ἀναλγησίαν ἐκπίπτει, καὶ οὔτε προσηνέσιν εἴκει λόγοις λοιπὸν, οὔτε ἀπειλαῖς κάμπτεται, οὔτε εὐεργεσίαις προτρέπεται, ἀλλὰ γίνεται πολὺ χείρων τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης, ἣν ὁ προφήτης κακίζων ἔλεγεν· Ὄψις πόρνης[1] ἐγένετο σοι, ἀπηναισχύντησας πρὸς πάντας. Διὰ τοῦτο πολλῆς δεῖ τῆς συνέσεως τῷ ποιμένι καὶ μυρίων ὀφθαλμῶν, πρὸς τὸ περισκοπεῖν πάντοθεν τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἕξιν. Ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰς ἀπόνοιαν αἴρονται πολλοὶ, καὶ εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν καταπίπτουσι σωτηρίας, ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ δυνηθῆναι πικρῶν ἀνασχέσθαι φαρμάκων· οὕτως εἰσί τινες, οἳ διὰ τὸ μὴ δοῦναι τιμωρίαν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀντίῤῥοπον, εἰς ὀλιγωρίαν ἐκτρέπονται, καὶ πολλῷ γίνονται χείρους, καὶ πρὸς τὸ μείζονα ἁμαρτάνειν προάγονται. Χρὴ τοίνυν μηδὲν τούτων ἀνεξέταστον ἀφεῖναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα διερευνησάμενον ἀκριβῶς καταλλήλως τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ προσάγειν τὸν ἱερωμένον, ἵνα μὴ μάταιος αὐτῷ γίνηται ἡ σπουδή. Οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ τὰ ἀπεῤῥηγμένα τῆς ἐκκλησίας μέλη συνάπτειν, πολλὰ ἴδοι τις ἂν αὐτὸν ἔχοντα πράγματα. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῶν προβάτων ποιμὴν ἔχει τὸ ποίμνιον ἑπόμενον, ᾗπερ ἂν ἡγῆται· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐκτρέποιτό τινα τῆς εὐθείας ὁδοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἀφιέντα νομὴν, λεπτόγεα καὶ ἀπόκρημνα βόσκοιτο χωρία, ἀρκεῖ βοήσαντα σφοδρότερον συνελάσαι πάλιν, καὶ εἰς τὴν ποίμνην ἐπαναγαγεῖν τὸ χωρισθέν· εἰ δὲ ἄνθρωπος τῆς εὐθείας ἀποπλανηθείη πίστεως, πολλῆς δεῖ τῷ ποιμένι τῆς πραγματείας, τῆς καρτερίας, τῆς ὑπομονῆς. Οὐ γὰρ ἑλκῦσαι πρὸς βίαν ἐστὶν, οὐδὲ ἀναγκάσαι φόβῳ· πείσαντα δὲ δεῖ πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀγαγεῖν, ὅθεν ἐξέπεσε τὴν ἀρχήν. Γενναίας οὖν δεῖ ψυχῆς, ἵνα μὴ περικακῇ, ἵνα μὴ ἀπογινώσκῃ τὴν τῶν πεπλανημένων σωτηρίαν, ἵνα συνεχῶς ἐκεῖνο καὶ λογίζηται καὶ λέγῃ· μήποτε δῷ αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας, καὶ ἀπαλλαγῶσι τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου παγίδος. Διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς μαθηταῖς ὁ Κύριος διαλεγόμενος

[1] Jeremiah, iii., 3.

ἔφη· Τίς ἄρα ὁ πιστὸς δοῦλος καὶ φρόνιμος; Ὁ γὲν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἀσκῶν, εἰς ἑαυτὸν μόνον περιίστησι τὴν ὠφέλειαν· τὸ δὲ τῆς ποιμαντικῆς κέρδος, εἰς ἅπαντα διαβαίνει τὸν λαόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν χρήματα διανέμων τοῖς δεομένοις, ἢ καὶ ἑτέρως πως ἀδικουμένοις ἀμύνων, ὤνησε μέν τι καὶ οὗτος τοὺς πλησίον, τοσούτῳ δὲ ἔλαττον τοῦ ἱερέως, ὅσον τὸ μέσον σώματος πρὸς ψυχήν. Εἰκότως ἄρα τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπης τὴν περὶ τὰ ποίμνια σπουδὴν ὁ Κύριος ἔφησεν εἶναι σημεῖον.

ΛΟΓΟΣ Δ′

VI. * * * Τί οὖν ὁ Παῦλος, φησὶν, οὐκ ἐσπούδασε ταύτην οἱ κατορθωθῆναι τὴν ἀρετήν; οὐδὲ ἐγκαλύπτεται ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ λόγου πενίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαῤῥήδην ὁμολογεῖ, ἰδιώτην ἑαυτὸν εἶναι· καὶ ταῦτα Κορινθίοις ἐπιστέλλων, τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγειν θαυμαζομένοις, καὶ μέγα ἐπὶ τούτῳ φρονοῦσι.

ΧΡ. Τοῦτο γὰρ, ἔφην, τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὃ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε, καὶ ῥαθυμοτέρους πρὸς τὴν ἀληθῆ διδασκαλίαν ἐποίησε. Μὴ γὰρ δυνηθέντες ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσαι τῶν ἀποστολικῶν φρενῶν τὸ βάθος, μηδὲ συνεῖναι τὴν τῶν ῥημάτων διάνοιαν, διετέλεσαν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον νυστάζοντες καὶ χασμώμενοι, καὶ τὴν ἀμαθίαν τιμῶντες ταύτην, οὐχ ἣν ὁ Παῦλός φησιν εἶναι ἀμαθὴς, ἀλλ᾽ ἧς τοσοῦτον ἀπεῖχεν, ὅσον οὐδὲ ἄλλος τις τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῦτον ἀνθρώπων. Ἀλλ᾽ οὗτος μὲν ἡμᾶς εἰς καιρὸν ὁ λόγος μενέτω· τέως δὲ ἐκεῖνό φημι· θῶμεν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἰδιώτην τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, ὅπερ οὗτοι βούλονται, τί οὖν τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς νῦν; Ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ εἶχεν ἰσχὺν πολλῷ τοῦ λόγου μείζονα καὶ πλείονα δυναμένην κατορθοῦν, φαινόμενος γὰρ μόνον, καὶ σιγῶν, τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἦν φοβερός· οἱ δὲ νῦν πάντες ὁμοῦ συνελθόντες μετὰ μυρίων εὐχῶν καὶ δακρύων οὐκ ἂν δυνηθεῖεν, ὅσα ἴσχυσε τὰ σιμικίνθια[1]

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[1] Another reading from MSS. is *μέχρι τούτου.*

[2] *σιμικίνθια*—A word of Latin origin, (semicinctium=praecinctorium,) a linen apron or half girdle—used for wiping off sweat or tears. The word occurs in Acts xix., 12, with *σουδάρια*—"handkerchiefs or aprons."

Παύλου ποτέ. Καὶ Παῦλος μὲν εὐχόμενος νεκροὺς ἀνίστη, καὶ ἄλλα ἐθαυματούργει τοιαῦτα, ὡς καὶ θεὸς νομισθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς ἔξωθεν· καὶ πρὶν ἢ τοῦ βίου μεταστῆναι τούτου, κατηξιώθη ἁρπαγῆναι ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ῥημάτων μετασχεῖν, ὧν οὐ θέμις ἀνθρωπείαν ἀκοῦσαι φύσιν. Οἱ δὲ νῦν ὄντες. (ἀλλ' οὐδὲν βούλομαι δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ βαρύ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπεμβαίνων αὐτοῖς λέγω νῦν, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζων,) πῶς οὐ φρίττουσιν ἀνδρὶ τηλικούτῳ παραβάλλοντες ἑαυτούς; Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ θαύματα ἀφέντες, ἐπὶ τὸν βίον ἔλθοιμεν τοῦ μακαρίου, καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐξετάσαιμεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγγελικὴν, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ μᾶλλον, ἢ ἐν τοῖς σημείοις, ὄψει νικῶντα τὸν ἀθλητὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. τί γὰρ ἄν τις εἴποι τὸν ζῆλον, τὴν ἐπιείκειαν, τοὺς συνεχεῖς κινδύνους, τὰς ἐπαλλήλους φροντίδας, τὰς ἀδιαλείπτους ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀθυμίας, τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς συμπαθὲς, τὰς πολλὰς θλίψεις, τοὺς καινοτέρους διωγμοὺς, τοὺς καθημερινοὺς θανάτους; Τίς γὰρ τόπος τῆς οἰκουμένης, ποία ἤπειρος, ποία θάλαττα τοῦ δικαίου τούτου τοὺς ἄθλους ἠγνόησεν; ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἡ ἀοίκητος ἔγνω, κινδυνεύοντα δεξαμένη πολλάκις. πᾶν γὰρ εἶδος ὑπέμεινεν ἐπιβουλῆς, καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἐπῆλθε νίκης. καὶ οὔτε ἀγωνιζόμενος, οὔτε στεφανούμενος διέλιπέ ποτε. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα πῶς προήχθην ὑβρίζειν τὸν ἄνδρα. τὰ γὰρ κατορθώματα αὐτοῦ, πάντα μὲν ὑπερβαίνει λόγον· τὸν δὲ ἡμέτερον, τοσοῦτον, ὅσον καὶ ἡμᾶς οἱ λέγειν εἰδότες. Πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκβάσεως, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς προαιρέσεως ἡμᾶς ὁ μακάριος κρινεῖ) οὐκ ἀποστήσομαι, ἕως ἂν εἴπω τοῦτο, ὃ τοσοῦτο τῶν εἰρημένων κρεῖττόν ἐστιν, ὅσον ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐκεῖνος. τί οὖν τοῦτό ἐστιν; μετὰ τοσαῦτα κατορθώματα, μετὰ τοὺς μυρίους στεφάνους, ηὔξατο εἰς γέενναν ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ αἰωνίῳ παραδοθῆναι κολάσει, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοὺς πολλάκις αὐτὸν καὶ λιθάσαντας, καὶ ἀνελόντας, τό γε αὐτῶν μέρος, Ἰουδαίους σωθῆναι καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ προσελθεῖν. Τίς οὕτως ἐπόθησε τὸν Χριστὸν; εἴγε πόθον αὐτὸν δεῖ καλεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἕτερόν τι τοῦ πόθου πλέον. Ἔτ' οὖν ἑαυτοὺς ἐκείνῳ παραβαλοῦμεν, μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην χάριν, ἣν ἔλαβεν ἄνωθεν; μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην ἀρετὴν, ἣν οἴκοθεν ἐπεδείξατο; καὶ τί τούτου γένοιτ' ἂν

τολμηρότερον; Ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ οὕτως[1] ἦν ἰδιώτης, ὡς οὗτοι νομίζουσι, καὶ τοῦτο λοιπὸν ἀποδεῖξαι πειράσομαι. Οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὸν οὐκ ἠσκημένον τὴν τῶν ἔξωθεν λόγων τερθρείαν ἰδιώτην καλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οὐκ εἰδότα μάχεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας δογμάτων· καὶ καλῶς νομίζουσιν. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος οὐκ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἔφησεν ἰδιώτης εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐν θατέρῳ μόνον· καὶ τοῦτο ἀσφαλιζόμενος, τὸν διορισμὸν ἀκριβῶς πεποίηται. λέγων, τῷ λόγῳ ἰδιώτης εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ γνώσει. Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν τὴν λειότητα Ἰσοκράτους ἀπῄτουν, καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένους ὄγκον, καὶ τὴν Θουκυδίδου σεμνότητα, καὶ τὸ Πλάτωνος ὕψος, ἔδει φέρειν εἰς μέσον ταύτην τοῦ Παύλου τὴν μαρτυρίαν. νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνα μὲν πάντα ἀφίημι, καὶ τὸν περίεργον τῶν ἔξωθεν καλλωπισμόν, καὶ οὐδέν μοι φράσεως, οὐδὲ ἀπαγγελίας[2] μέλει· ἀλλ' ἐξέστω καὶ τῇ λέξει πτωχεύειν, καὶ τὴν συνθήκην τῶν ὀνομάτων ἁπλῆν τινα εἶναι καὶ ἀφελῆ, μόνον μὴ τῇ γνώσει τις, καὶ τῇ τῶν δογμάτων ἀκριβείᾳ ἰδιώτης ἔστω· μήδ' ἵνα τὴν οἰκείαν ἀργίαν ἐπικαλύψῃ, τὸν μακάριον ἐκεῖνον ἀφαιρείσθω τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐγκωμίων κεφάλαιον.

VII. Πόθεν γὰρ, εἰπέ μοι, τοὺς Ἰουδαιους συνέχεε τοὺς ἐν Δαμάσκῳ κατοικοῦντας, οὐδέπω τῶν σημείων ἀρξάμενος; πόθεν τοὺς Ἑλληνιστὰς κατεπάλαισε; διὰ τί δὲ εἰς Ταρσὸν ἐξεπέμπετο; οὐκ ἐπειδὴ κατὰ κράτος ἐνίκα τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον αὐτοὺς ἤλαυνεν, ὡς καὶ εἰς φόνον παροξυνθῆναι, μὴ φέροντας τὴν ἧτταν; ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὐδέπω τοῦ θαυματουργεῖν ἤρξατο. Οὐδ' ἂν ἔχοι τις εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὰ τεράστια δόξης θαυμαστὸν αὐτὸν[3] ἦγον οἱ πολλοὶ, καὶ οἱ μαχόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπολήψεως ἠπηρεάζοντο τἀνδρός. τέως γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγειν μόνον ἐκράτει. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἰουδαΐζειν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πόθεν ἠγωνίζετο καὶ συνεζήτει; Ὁ δὲ Ἀρεοπαγίτης ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τῆς δεισιδαιμονεστάτης πόλεως ἐκείνης, οὐκ ἀπὸ δημηγορίας μόνης ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, μετὰ τῆς γυναικός[4]; Ὁ δὲ Εὔτυχος πῶς κατέ-

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[1] Another reading οὗτος.

[2] Another reading ἀπολογίας.

[3] Another reading ἡγοῦντο.

[4] See Acts xvii. 34.

πεσεν ἀπὸ τῆς θυρίδος; οὐκ ἐπειδὴ μέχρι βαθείας νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ ἀπησχολεῖτο λόγον; Τί δὲ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ; τί δὲ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ; οὐχ ὅλας ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἀνήλισκεν ἐφεξῆς εἰς τὴν ἐξήγησιν τῶν γραφῶν; τί ἄν τις λέγοι τὰς πρὸς τοὺς Ἐπικουρείους διαλέξεις καὶ Στωϊκούς; εἰ γὰρ ἅπαντα θέλοιμεν καταλέγειν, εἰς μακρὸν ἐκπεσεῖται μῆκος ὁ λόγος. Ὅτ' ἂν οὖν καὶ πρὸ τῶν σημείων καὶ ἐν μέσοις αὐτοῖς φαίνηται πολλῷ κεχρημένος τῷ λόγῳ· πῶς ἔτι τολμήσουσιν ἰδιώτην εἰπεῖν, τὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν μάλιστα θαυμασθέντα παρὰ πᾶσι; Διὰ τί γὰρ Λυκάονες αὐτὸν ὑπέλαβον εἶναι Ἑρμῆν; τὸ μὲν γὰρ θεοὺς αὐτοὺς νομισθῆναι, ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων ἐγένετο· τὸ δὲ τοῦτον Ἑρμῆν, οὐκ ἔτι ἀπ' ἐκείνων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου. Τίνι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων ἐπλεονέκτησεν ὁ μακάριος οὗτος; καὶ πόθεν ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς ἁπάντων ἐστὶ στόμασιν; πόθεν οὐ παρ' ἡμῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις, καὶ Ἕλλησι μάλιστα πάντων θαυμάζεται; οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀρετῆς; δι' ἧς οὐ τοὺς τότε μόνον πιστοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι τῆς σήμερον γενομένους, καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας δὲ ἔσεσθαι μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας ὠφέλησέ τε καὶ ὠφελήσει, καὶ οὐ παύσεται τοῦτο ποιῶν, ἕως ἂν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαμένῃ γένος. Ὥσπερ γὰρ τεῖχος ἐξ ἀδάμαντος κατασκευασθὲν, οὕτω τὰς πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκκλησίας τὰ τούτου τειχίζει γράμματα· καὶ καθάπερ τις ἀριστεὺς γενναιότατος ἕστηκε καὶ νῦν μέσος, αἰχμαλωτίζων πᾶν νόημα εἰς τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ καθαιρῶν λογισμοὺς καὶ πᾶν ὕψωμα ἐπαιρόμενον κατὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐργάζεται, δι' ὧν ἡμῖν κατέλιπεν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν θαυμασίων ἐκείνων, καὶ τῆς θείας πεπληρωμένων σοφίας. Οὐ πρὸς δογμάτων δὲ μόνον νόθων τε ἀνατροπὴν, καὶ γνησίων ἀσφάλειαν, ἐπιτήδεια ἡμῖν αὐτοῦ τὰ γράμματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ βιοῦν εὖ, οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἡμῖν συντελεῖ μέρος. Τούτοις γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ προεστῶτες χρώμενοι, τὴν ἁγνὴν παρθένον, ἣν ἡρμόσατο τῷ Χριστῷ, ῥυθμίζουσί τε καὶ πλάττουσι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ πνευματικὸν ἄγουσι κάλλος· τούτοις καὶ τὰ ἐπισκήπτοντα αὐτῇ νοσήματα ἀπο-

κρούονται, καὶ τὴν προσγινομένην διατηροῦσιν ὑγίειαν. Τοιαῦτα ἡμῖν ὁ ἰδιώτης[1] *κατέλιπε φάρμακα, καὶ τοσαύτην ἔχοντα δύναμιν, ὧν ἴσασι τὴν πεῖραν καλῶς, οἱ χρώμενοι συνεχῶς. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν πολλὴν αὐτὸς ἐποιεῖτο τοῦ μέρους τούτου σπουδὴν, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον·*

VIII. *Ἄκουε δὲ καὶ τῷ μαθητῇ τί φησιν ἐπιστέλλων· Πρόσεχε τῇ ἀναγνώσει, τῇ παρακλήσει, τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τούτου καρπὸν προστίθησι λέγων· Τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν, καὶ σεαυτὸν σώσεις καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντάς σου*[2]. *Καὶ πάλιν· δοῦλον δὲ Κυρίου οὐ δεῖ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἤπιον εἶναι πρὸς πάντας, διδακτικὸν, ἀνεξίκακον. Καὶ προϊὼν δέ φησι· Σὺ δὲ μένε ἐν οἷς ἔμαθες, καὶ ἐπιστώθης, εἰδὼς παρὰ τίνος ἔμαθες, καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ βρέφους τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα οἶδας, τὰ δυνάμενά σε σοφίσαι εἰς σωτηρίαν*[3].

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[1] *ἰδιώτης*——Chrysostom uses the word here somewhat ironically; having already in the preceding section explained Paul's application of the word to himself, and vindicated the Apostle's qualifications from those who appeal wrongly to the precedent:—thus, in effect, rescuing the precedent from such as would indolently excuse their neglect of the cultivation of learning, or legitimate eloquence.

The word occurs in Acts iv., 13, and also in 2 Cor., xi., 6; in which last passage Paul applies it to himself, in a limited sense only. The student may usefully consult SUICER's *Thesaurus* on this word; or see BLOOMFIELD's N. Test. on Acts iv., 13, or 1 Cor. ii., 1.

[2] 1 Tim. iv. 13–16.

[3] 2 Tim. iii. 14, 15.

THE LATIN FATHERS.

I. TERTULLIAN.

This distinguished Apologist and Theologian belongs to the end of the second and beginning of the third century, or the times of Severus and Caracalla. His celebrated apology was drawn up on occasion of the persecution under the former Emperor, and was presented either to the Roman Senate, or, as some of the expressions indicate, to the African Proconsuls. It is a masterly vindication of the Christian cause, defensive as regards calumnious charges, and boldly but calmly assertory of the vanity of heathen worship. Lactantius had reason for saying of Tertullian's Apology: "Causam plene peroraverit." The style of language is not Augustan certainly; yet, though having a Punic harshness, it is withal energetic, pregnantly concise, and sometimes eloquent. Besides the Apology, Tertullian wrote ably against Marcion and Praxeas; the former the latest but most formidable champion of the Gnostic opinions, the other a Sabellian, or a precursor in Africa of Sabellius, as Noetus was in Asia. Tertullian was greatly admired by Cyprian, who is said to have allowed no day to pass without reading his works: "Da mihi magistrum," he would often say of him. In his later years, he unhappily adopted the errors of the Montanists, recommended as these would be to his austere temperament by pretensions to extreme spirituality," asceticism rather. "Montanism (as Dean Milman expresses it,) harmonised with African christianity, in the simplicity of its creed,—which did not depart from the predominant form of christianity,—in the extreme rigour of its fasts, above all, in its resolving religion into inward emotion. Opinions first propagated on the shores of the Euxine found their most vigorous antagonist on the coast of Africa, while a new and fervid enthusiasm which arose in Phrygia captivated the kindred spirit of Tertullian." We give part of the Apology; also of the piece against Praxeas.

Q. SEPTIMII FLORENTIS TERTULLIANI,

APOLOGETICUS ADVERSUS GENTES

CAPUT PRIMUM.

DE IGNORANTIA.

Si non licet vobis, Romani Imperii Antistites[1], in aperto, et aedito ipso fere vertice civitatis praesidentibus ad judicandum, palam describere, et coram examinare, quid sit liquido in causa Christianorum : si ad hanc solam speciem auctoritas vestra de justitiae diligentia in publico aut timet, aut erubescit inquirere : si denique, quod proxime accidit, domesticis judiciis[2] nimis operata sectae hujus infestatio obstruit viam defensioni, liceat veritati vel occulta via tacitarum literarum ad aures vestras pervenire. Nihil illa de causa sua deprecatur, quia nec de conditione miratur. Scit se peregrinam in terris agere, inter extraneos facile inimicos invenire. Caeterum genus, sedem, spem, gratiam, dignitatem in coelis habere : unum gestit interdum, ne ignorata damnetur. Quid hinc deperit legibus in suo regno dominantibus, si audiatur ? An hoc magis gloriabitur potestas earum, quod etiam inauditam damnabunt veritatem ? Caeterum inauditam si damnent, praeter invidiam iniquitatis, etiam suspicionem merebuntur alicujus conscientiae[3], nolentes

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[1] *Antistites.*—Some understand the Roman senate ; and think "*vertice,*" alludes to the capitol. It perhaps rather denotes those who exercised in the province the proconsular authority. This is favoured by other expressions, "*non licet,*" "*fere,*" &c.

[2] *Domesticis judiciis.*—Violence already used in their own domestic circles to confessors of Christ ; or, advantage taken of servants as informers.

[3] *Conscientiae.*—Some degree of guilty privity.

audire, quod auditum damnare non possint. Hanc itaque primam causam apud vos collocamus, iniquitatis odium erga nomen Christianum. Quam iniquitatem idem titulus[1] et onerat, et revincit, qui videtur excusare, ignorantia scilicet. Quid enim iniquius, quam ut oderint homines quod ignorant, etiam si res mereretur odium? Tunc etenim meretur, cum cognoscitur an mereatur. Vacante autem meriti notitia, unde odii justitia defenditur, quae non de eventu, sed de conscientia probanda est? Cum ergo propterea oderint homines, quia ignorant quale sit quod oderunt, cur non liceat ejusmodi illud esse, quod non debeant odisse? Ita utrumque ex alterutro redarguimus, et ignorare illos, dum oderunt, et injuste odisse, dum ignorant. Testimonium ignorantiae est, quae iniquitatem, dum excusat, condemnat: cum omnes qui retro oderant, quia ignorabant quale esset quod oderant, simul ut desinunt ignorare, cessent et odisse. Ex his fiunt Christiani, utique de comperto, et incipiunt odisse quod fuerant, et profiteri quod oderant: et sunt tanti, quanti et denotamur. Civitatem obsessam vociferantur: In agris, in castellis, in insulis Christianos: Omnem sexum, aetatem, conditionem, et dignitatem transgredi ad hoc Nomen quasi detrimento moerent: Nec tamen hoc ipso modo ad aestimationem alicujus latentis boni promovent animos: Non licet rectius suspicari, non libet propius experiri. Hic tantum urbana curiositas torpescit. Amant ignorare, cum alii gaudeant cognovisse. Quanto magis hos Anacharsis[2] denotasset imprudentes de prudentibus judicantes, quam non musicos de musicis? Malunt nescire, quia jam oderunt. Adeo quod nesciunt, praejudicant id esse, quod si sciant, odisse non poterant; quando, si nullum odii debitum deprehendatur, optimum utique sit desinere injuste odisse: si vero de merito constet, non modo nihil odii detrahatur, sed amplius acqui-

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[1] *Titulus.*—A charge or indictment. The word is used in John xix. 19, of the board on which was affixed the charge against Jesus. It is of like import with "*elogiis*," mentioned afterwards.

[2] *Anacharsis.*—A Phrygian philosopher, some of whose words were proverbial. He is said to have wondered, as to the Greeks, that ἀγωνίζονται μὲν οἱ τεχνῖται, κρίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὴ τεχνῖται.—*Diog. Laert.*

ratur. Ad perseverantiam, etiam justitiae ipsius auctoritate abutuntur. Sed non ideo, inquiunt, bonum, quia multos convertit. Quanti enim ad malum praeformantur? quanti transfugae in perversum? Quis negat? Tamen quod vere malum est, ne ipsi quidem, quos rapit, defendere pro bono audent. Omne malum aut timore, aut pudore natura perfudit. Denique malefici gestiunt latere, devitant apparere, trepidant deprehensi, negant accusati: ne torti quidem, facile, aut semper confitentur; certe condemnati moerent: dinumerant[1] in semetipsos: mentis malae impetus, vel fato, vel astris imputant: nolunt enim suum esse, quia malum agnoscunt. Christianus vero quid simile? Neminem pudet, neminem poenitet, nisi plane retro non fuisse. Si denotatur[2], gloriatur: si accusatur, non defendit. Interrogatus, vel ultro confitetur: damnatus, gratias agit. Quid hoc mali est, quod naturam mali non habet, timorem, pudorem, tergiversationem, poenitentiam, deplorationem? Quid hoc mali est, cujus reus gaudet? cujus accusatio votum est; et poena felicitas? Non potes dementiam dicere, qui revinceris ignorare. Si certum est denique nos nocentissimos esse, cur a vobis ipsis aliter tractamur, quam pares nostri, id est, caeteri nocentes, cum ejusdem noxae eadem tractatio deberet provenire? Quodcunque dicimur, cum alii dicuntur, et proprio ore, et mercenaria advocatione utuntur ad innocentiae suae commendationem: respondendi, altercandi facultas patet: quando nec liceat indefensos et inauditos omnino damnari. Sed Christianis solis nihil permittitur loqui, quod causam purget, quod veritatem defendat, quod judicem non faciat injustum. Sed illud solum expectatur, quod odio publico necessarium est, confessio nominis, non examinatio criminis: quando, si de aliquo nocente cognoscitis, non statim confesso eo nomine homicidae[3], vel sacrilegi, vel incesti, vel publici hostis (ut de nostris elogiis loquar) contenti sitis ad pronuntiandum, nisi et consequentia exiga-

[1] *Dinumerant.*—Equivalent to *recensent*—they recollect, or take account.

[2] *Denotatur.*—Used in the censorial sense.

[3] *Homicidii.*—Meant of the *infanticidia* falsely charged, as see sect. ii.

tis, qualitatem facti, numerum, locum, modum, tempus, conscios, socios.

II.—QUOD NOMEN IN CHRISTIANIS, DAMNETUR, NON CRIMEN.

De nobis nihil tale. Cum aeque extorquere oporteret (cum falso jactatur) quot quisque jam infanticidia degustasset, quot incesta contenebrasset, qui coci, qui canes affuissent? O quanta illius Praesidis gloria, si eruissit[1] aliquem, qui centum jam infantes comedisset! Atqui invenimus inquisitionem quoque in nos prohibitam. Plinius enim Secundus, cum Provinciam regeret, damnatis quibusdam Christianis, quibusdam gradu pulsis, ipsa tamen multitudine perturbatus, quid de caetero ageret, consuluit tunc Trajanum Imperatorem; allegans praeter obstinationem non sacrificandi, nihil aliud se de sacris eorum comperisse, quam coetus antelucanos ad canendum Christo ut deo, et ad confoederandam disciplinam: homicidium, adulterium, fraudem, perfidiam, et caetera scelera prohibentes. Tunc Trajanus rescripsit, hoc genus inquirendos quidem non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportere. O sententiam necessitate confusam! Negat inquirendos, ut innocentes: et mandat puniendos ut nocentes. Parcit, et saevit[2]: dissimulat, et animadvertit. Quid temetipsum censura circumvenis? Si damnas, cur non et inquiris? Si non inquiris, cur non et absolvis? Latronibus vestigandis per universas provincias militaris statio sortitur[3]. In reos majestatis,[4] et publicos hostes, omnis homo miles est: ad socios, ad conscios inquisitio usque extenditur. Solum Christianum inquiri non licet, offerri licet: quasi aliud esset actura inquisitio, quam oblatio.[5] Damnatis ergo oblatum, quem nemo voluit requisitum, qui, puto, jam non meruit ideo poenam, quia nocens est, sed quia non requirendus, inventus

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[1] *Eruisset.*—Used in the sense of "discovered," or brought out to light.

[2] *Saevit.*—Used of the rage of unbridled passion.

[3] *Sortitur.*—Used in the passive—though rarely—yet the old form (active) is used by Ennius and Plautus.—*Woodham.*

[4] *Reos maj.*—A legal phrase for treason.

[5] *Oblatio.*—Bringing before a magistrate.

est. Itaque nec in illo ex forma malorum judicandorum agitis erga nos, quod caeteris negantibus adhibetis tormenta ad confitendum, solis Christianis ad negandum: cum si malum esset, nos quidem negaremus, vos vero confiteri tormentis compelleretis. Neque enim ideo non putaretis requirenda quaestionibus scelera, quia certi essetis admitti ea ex Nominis confessionis, qui hodie de confesso homicida, scientes homicidium quid sit, nihilominus ordinem extorquetis admissi. Quo perversius, cum praesumatis de sceleribus nostris ex nominis confessione, cogitis tormentis de confessione decedere, ut negantes nomen pariter utique negemus et scelera, de quibus ex confessione nominis praesumpseratis. Sed, opinor, non vultis nos perire, quos pessimos creditis. Sic enim soletis dicere homicidae, nega: laniari jubere sacrilegum, si confiteri perseveraverit. Si non ita agitis circa nos nocentes, ergo nos innocentissimos judicatis, cum quasi innocentissimos non vultis in ea confessione perseverare, quam necessitate, non justitia damnandam a vobis sciatis. Vociferatur homo, Christianus sum. Quod est, dicit: tu vis audire quod non est. Veritatis extorquendae Praesides, de nobis solis mendacium elaboratis audire. Hoc sum, inquit, quod quaeris an sim. Quid me torques in perversum? confiteor, et torques. Quid faceres, si negarem? Plane aliis negantibus non facile fidem accommodatis: nobis, si negaverimus, statim creditis. Suspecta[1] sit vobis perversitas, ne qua vis lateat in occulto, quae nos adversus formam, adversus naturam judicandi, contra ipsas quoque leges ministret. Nisi enim fallor, leges malos erui[2] jubent, non abscondi: confessos damnari præscribunt, non absolvi. Hoc Senatusconsultum, hoc Principum mandata definiunt, hoc Imperium, cujus ministri estis. Civilis, non tyrannica dominatio vestra est. Apud tyrannos enim tormenta etiam pro poena adhibentur; apud vos soli qaestioni temperantur. Vestram illis servire legem usque ad confessionem necessarium, et si

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[1] *Suspecta sit.*—He seems to insinuate invisible or demoniac agency.

[2] *Erui.*—See note 1 at page 121.

confessione praeveniantur, vacabunt. Sententia opus est. Debito poenae nocens expungendus est, non eximendus. Denique illum nemo gestit absolvere: nobis non licet hoc velle. Ideo nec cogitur quisquam negare. Christianum hominem omnium scelerum reum, Deorum, Imperatorum, legum, morum, naturae totius inimicum existimas: et cogis negare, ut absolvas, quem non poteris absolvere, nisi negaverit. Prevaricaris in leges. Vis ergo neget se nocentem, ut eum facias innocentem, et quidem invitum jam, nec de praeterito reum? Unde ista perversitas? ut etiam illud non recogitetis, sponte confesso magis credendum esse, quam per vim neganti: vel ne compulsus negare, non ex fide negarit? et absolutus, ibidem post tribunal de vestra rideat emulatione, iterum Christianus. Cum igitur in omnibus in nos aliter disponitis, quam in caeteros nocentes, id unum contenditis, ut de eo nomine excludamur (excludimur enim, si facimus, quae faciunt non Christiani) intelligere potestis, non scelus aliquod in causa esse, sed nomen, quod quaedam ratio emulae operationis insequitur, hoc primum agens, ut homines nolint scire pro certo, quod se nescire pro certo sciunt. Ideo et credunt de nobis quae non probantur: et nolunt inquiri, ne probentur non esse, quae malunt credisse: ut nomen illius emulationis inimicum, praesumptis non probatis criminibus, de sua sola confessione damnetur. Ideo torquemur confitentes, et punimur perseverantes, et absolvimur negantes, quia Nominis praelium est. Denique quid de tabella recitatis illum Christianum, cur non et homicidam? Sed homicida Christianus, cur non et incestus, vel quodcunque aliud nos esse creditis? In nobis solis pudet aut piget ipsis nominibus scelerum pronuntiare. Christianus si nullius criminis reus est, nomen valde infestum, si solius Nominis crimen est.

III.—ODIOSISSIMUM SINE CAUSA CHRISTIANUM ESSE NOMEN.

Quid, quod ita plerique clausis oculis in odium eius impingunt, ut bonum alicui testimonium ferentes admisceant

nominis exprobrationem? Bonus vir Caius Seius,[1] sed malus tantum quod Christianus. Item alius: ego Lucium sapientem virum repente factum Christianum defero. Nemo retractat:[2] non ideo bonus Caius, et prudens Lucius, quia Christianus? Aut ideo Christianus quia prudens et bonus? Laudant, quae sciunt: vituperant, quae ignorant: et id quod sciunt, eo quod ignorant, corrumpunt: cum sit justius occulta de manifestis praejudicare, quam manifesta de occultis praedamnare. Alii, quos retro ante hoc Nomen vagos, viles, improbos noverant, ex ipso denotant quo laudant; caecitate odii in suffragium impingunt, quod mulier, quod lasciva, quod festiva, quod juvenis, quod amasius, facti sunt Christiani. Ita Nomen emendationi imputatur. Nonnulli etiam de utilitatibus suis cum odio isto paciscuntur, contenti injuria, dum ne domi habeant quod oderunt. Uxorem jam pudicam maritus jam non zelotypus ejecit, filium subjectum pater retro patiens abdicavit: servum jam fidelem dominus olim mitis ab oculis relegavit. Ut quisque hoc Nomine emendatur, offendit. Tanti non est bonum esse, quanti odium Christianorum. Nunc igitur, si nominis odium est, quis nominis reatus? quae accusatio vocabulorum? nisi aut Barbarum sonat aliqua vox nominis, aut infaustum, aut maledicum, aut impudicum? Christianus vero, quantum interpretatio est, de unctione deducitur. Sed et cum perperam Chrestianus[3] pronuntiatur a vobis, nam nec nominis est certa notitia penes vos, de suavitate vel benignitate compositum est. Oditur ergo in hominibus innocuis, etiam Nomen innocuum. At enim secta oditur in nomine sui auctoris. Quid novi, si aliqua disciplina de magistro cognomentum sectatoribus suis inducit? Nonne Philosophi de auctoribus suis nuncupantur Platonici, Epi-

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[1] *Caius* and *Lucius.*—Common prænomens, used in an indefinite way—*Caius; Caia*; "Any man, any woman."

[2] *Retractat.*—Considers, turns over in his mind.

[3] *Chrestianus.*—The word "Chrestos" occurs in Suetonius' "Claudius." Tertullian argues here, on their common mispronunciation of the name. Some consider it as a sort of play on words; Tertullian indulges in this occasionally.

curei, Pythagorici? etiam a locis conventiculorum et stationum suarum, Stoici, Academici? atque Medici ab Erasistrato, et Grammatici ab Aristarcho, Coci etiam ab Apicio? nec tamen quenquam offendit professio nominis cum institutione transmissa ab institutore. Plane si qui probat malam sectam, et ita malum et auctorem, is probavit et nomen dignum odio de reatu sectae et auctoris. Ideoque ante odium nominis competebat prius de auctore sectam recognoscere, vel auctorem de secta. At nunc utriusque inquisitione et agnitione neglecta, Nomen detinetur, Nomen expugnatur: et ignotam sectam, ignotum et autorem vox sola praedamnat, quia nominatur, non quia revincitur. Atque ideo quasi prefatus haec ad sugillandum odii erga nos publici iniquitatem, jam de causa innocentiae consistam: nec tantum refutabo, quae nobis objiciuntur: sed etiam in ipsos retorquebo, qui objiciunt: ut ex hoc quoque sciant omnes in Christianis non esse, quae in se nesciunt esse; simul uti erubescant accusantes, non dico pessimi optimos, sed jam, ut volunt, compares suos. Respondebimus ad singula, quae in occulto admittere dicimur, quae illos palam admittentes invenimus, in quibus scelesti, vani, in quibus damnandi, in quibus irridendi deputamur. Sed quoniam, cum ad omnia occurrit veritas nostra, postremo legum obstruitur auctoritas adversus eam: ut aut nihil dicatur retractandum esse post leges, aut ingratis necessitas obsequii praeferatur veritati: de legibus prius concurram vobiscum, ut cum tutoribus legum.

IV.—DE LEGIBUS ROMANORUM, QUOD QUOTIDIE VETERES ABROGANTUR, ET NOVAE FERUNTUR.

Jam primum, quam dure definitis dicendo: Non licet esse vos! Hoc si sine ullo retractatu humaniore praescribitis, vim profitemini, et iniquam exercetis dominationem, si ideo negatis licere, quia vultis, non quia debuit non licere. Quod si quia non debet ideo non vultis licere: sine dubio id non debet licere, quod male fit: et utique hoc ipso praejudicatur licere, quod bene fit.

Si bonum invenero esse, quod lex tua prohibuit, nonne ex illo praejudicio prohibere me non potest: quod si malum esset, jure prohiberet? Si lex tua erravit, puto, ab homine concepta est, neque enim de coelo ruit. Miramini hominem aut errare potuisse in lege condenda, aut resipuisse in reprobanda? Non enim et ipsius Lycurgi leges a Lacaedaemoniis emendatae,[1] tantum auctori suo doloris incusserunt, ut in secessu inedia de semetipso judicarit? Nonne et vos quotidie experimentis illuminantibus tenebras antiquitatis, totam illam veterem et squalentem silvam legum novis Principalium rescriptorum et edictorum securibus truncatis et caeditis? Nonne vanissimas Papias leges, quae ante liberos suscipi cogunt, quam Juliae matrimonium contrahi, post tantae auctoritatis senectutem, heri[2] Severus constantissimus Principum exclusit? Sed et judicatos in partes secari a creditoribus leges erant: consensu tamen publico crudelitas postea erasa est; et in pudoris[3] notam, capitis poena conversa est, bonorum adhibita proscriptione. Suffundere maluit hominis sanguinem, quam effundere. Quot adhuc vos repurgandae leges latent, quas neque annorum numerus, neque conditorum dignitas commendat, sed aequitas sola? Et ideo, cum iniquae recognoscuntur, merito damnantur, licet non damnentur cum iniquas dicimus, imo, si nomen puniunt, etiam stultas. Si vero facta, cur de solo nomine puniunt facta, quae in aliis de admisso, non de nomine probata defendunt? Incestum cur non requirunt? Infanticidia cur non extorquent? In Deos, in Caesares aliquid committo: cur non audior? qui habeo quo purger? Nulla lex vetat discuti, quod prohibet admitti: quia neque judex juste ulciscitur, nisi cognoscat admissum esse, quod non licet: neque quis fideliter legi obsequitur, ignorans quale

[1] *Emendatae.*—He argues that there is abundant precedent for changing laws—why not, if bad? Even Lycurgus' laws were subjected to revision. He, mortified, is said to have died in exile of voluntary starvation.

[2] *Heri.*—Meaning, quite recently—Tertullian lived in this reign.

[3] *Pudoris.*—He alludes to the shame connected with the confiscation of goods. "*Secari.*"—Refers to an old Roman law, by which a debtor was cut in pieces.

sit, quod ulciscitur lex. Nulla lex sibi soli conscientiam justitiae suae debet, sed eis, a quibus obsequium expectat. Caeterum suspecta lex est, quae probari se non vult. Improba autem, si non probata dominetur.

V.—QUOD ROMANI PRINCIPES CHRISTIANUM NOMEN PROBARINT, ET QUI ODERINT: ET TIBERII DECRETUM DE CHRISTO ADORANDO.

Ut de origine aliquid retractemus ejusmodi legum. Vetus erat decretum, ne qui deus ab Imperatore consecraretur, nisi a senatu probaretur: ut M. Æmilius de deo suo Alburno. Facit et hoc ad causam nostram, quod apud vos de humano arbitratu divinitas pensitatur. Nisi homini deus placuerit, deus non erit. Homo jam deo propitius esse debebit. Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Christianum in seculum introivit, annuntiatum sibi ex Syria Palaestina quod illic veritatem ipsius divinitatis revelaverat, detulit ad senatum cum praerogativa suffragii sui. Senatus, quia non ipse probaverat, respuit. Caesar in sententia mansit, comminatus periculum accusatoribus Christianorum. Consulite commentarios vestros, illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam tum maxime Romae orientem Caesariano gladio ferocisse. Sed tali dedicatore[1] damnationis nostrae etiam gloriemur. Qui enim scit illum, intelligere potest, non nisi aliquid bonum grande a Nerone damnatum. Tentaverat et Domitianus, portio Neronis de crudelitate,[2] sed quia et homo, facile coeptum repressit, restitutis etiam quos relegaverat. Tales semper nobis insecutores, injusti, impii, turpes, quos et ipsi damnare consuestis, a quibus damnatos restituere soliti estis. Caeterum de tot exinde Principibus ad hodiernum, divinum humanumque sapientibus, edite aliquem debellatorem Christianorum. At nos e contrario edimus

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[1] *Dedicatore.*—Used for an initiator, or author, or cause.

[2] *De crudelitate.*—Tertullian uses the word *"de"* in the sense of "with respect to," or "as regards."

protectorem: Si literae Marci Aurelii gravissimi imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam sitim,[1] Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbre discussam contestatur, sicut non palam ab ejusmodi hominibus poenam dimovit, ita alio modo palam dispersit, adjecta etiam accusatoribus damnatione, et quidem tetriore.

Quales ergo truces leges istae, quas adversus nos soli exercent impii, injusti, turpes, dementes, vani? quas Trajanus ex parte frustratus est, vetando inquiri Christianos: quas nullus Hadrianus, quanquam curiositatum omnium explorator: nullus Vespasianus, quanquam Judaeorum debellator, nullus Pius, nullus Verus impressit. Facilius utique pessimi ab optimis quibusque, ut ab aemulis, quam a suis sociis eradicandi judicarentur.

X.—DEOS, QUOS COLUNT, NON ESSE DEOS.

Deos, inquitis, non colitis, et pro Imperatoribus sacrificia non penditis. Sequitur, ut eadem ratione pro aliis non sacrificemus, quia nec pro nobis ipsis. Scimus deos non colendos. Itaque sacrilegii, et majestatis[2] rei convenimur.[3] Summa haec causa, immo tota est, et utique digna cognosci, si non praesumptio, aut iniquitas judicet: altera quae desperat, altera quae recusat veritatem. Deos vestros colere desinimus, ex quo illos non esse cognoscimus. Hoc igitur exigere debetis, uti probemus non esse illos deos, et idcirco non colendos, quia tunc demum coli debuissent, si dii fuissent. Tunc et Christiani puniendi, si quos non colerent, quia putarent non esse, constaret illos deos esse. Sed nobis, inquitis, dii sunt. Appellamus et provocamus a vobis ad conscientiam vestram; illa nos judicet, illa nos damnet,

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[1] *Sitim.*—Referring to the supposed interposition in favor of the Roman army, in the war with the Marcomanni. See MOSHEIM or NEANDER on "the thundering legion."

[2] See note 4 on page 121.

[3] *Convenimur.*—"We are convened, summoned, charged with. *Convenimur* is a legal term."—WOODHAM. To the use of such, as well as some military phrases, Tertullian was prone, by his former profession as a lawyer, and his paternal profession, that of a soldier.

si poterit negare omnes istos deos vestros homines fuisse. Sed et ipsa inficias si ierit, de suis antiquitatum instrumentis revincetur, de quibus eos didicit, testimonium perhibentibus ad hodiernum, et civitatibus in quibus nati sunt, et regionibus in quibus aliquid operati vestigia reliquerunt, in quibus etiam sepulti demonstrantur. Num ergo per singulos decurram, tot ac tantos, novos, veteres, servos, Barbaros, Graecos, Romanos, peregrinos, captivos, adoptivos, proprios, communes, masculinos, foeminas, rusticos, urbanos, nauticos, militares? otiosum est etiam titulos persequi, colligam in compendium, et hoc non quo cognoscatis, sed recognoscatis; certe enim oblitos agitis.

XI.—QUOMODO VETERUM DII PLANE MORTALES FUERE, ET QUARE, CUM HOMINES ESSENT, FACTI SINT AB HOMINIBUS DII.

Ante Saturnum Deus penes vos nemo est. Ab illo census totius vel potioris, vel notioris divinitatis. Itaque quod de origine constiterit, id et de posteritate conveniet. Saturnum itaque, quantum literae docent, neque Diodorus Graecus, aut Tallus, neque Cassius Severus, aut Cornelius Nepos, neque ullus commentator ejusmodi antiquitatum aliud quam hominem promulgaverunt. Si quaeras rerum argumenta, nusquam invenio fideliora, quam apud ipsam Italiam, in qua Saturnus post multas expeditiones, postque Attica hospitia, consedit, exceptus ab Jano, vel Jane, ut Salii volunt. Mons quem coluerat, Saturnius dictus: civitas, quam debellaverat, Saturnia usque nunc est: Tota denique Italia post Oenotriam, Saturnia cognominabatur. Ab ipso primum tabula, et imagine signatus nummus, et inde aerario praesidet. Tamen si homo Saturnus, utique ex homine: et quia ab homine non utique de coelo, et terra. Sed cujus parentes ignoti erant, facile fuit eorum filium dici, quorum et omnes possumus videri. Quis enim non coelum, et terram, matrem ac patrem venerationis et honoris gratia appellet, vel ex consuetudine humana, qua ignoti, vel ex inopinato apparentes, de coelo supervenisse dicuntur? Proinde Saturnum repen-

tino adventu ubique coelitem contigit dici. Nam et terrae filios vulgus vocat, quorum genus incertum est. Taceo quod ita rudes adhuc homines agebant, ut cujuslibet novi viri aspectu, quasi divino commoverentur: cum hodie jam politi, quos ante paucos dies lucto mortuos sint confessi, in deos consecrent. Satis jam de Saturno, licet paucis. Etiam Jovem ostendemus tam hominem quam ex homine, et deinceps totum generis examen tam mortale quam seminis sui par est: quoniam sicut illos homines fuisse non audetis quae hoc exegerint, retractemus. In primis quidem necesse est, concedatis esse aliquem sublimiorem deum, et mancipem quidem divinitatis, qui ex hominibus deos fecerit. Nam neque sibi illi potuissent sumere divinitatem, quam non habebant, nec alius praestare eam non habentibus, nisi qui proprie possidebat. Ceterum si nemo esset, qui deos faceret, frustra praesumitis deos factos auferendo factorem. Certe quidem si ipsi se facere potuissent, nunquam homines fuissent, possidentes scilicet melioris conditionis potestatem. Igitur si est qui faciat deos, revertor ad causas examinandas faciendorum ex hominibus deorum: nec ullas invenio, nisi si ministeria et officiis divinis desideravit ille magnus deus. Primo indignum est, ut alicujus opera indigeret et quidem mortui, cum dignius ab initio deum aliquem fecisset, qui mortui erat operam desideraturus. Sed nec operae locum video. Totum enim hoc mundi corpus sive innatum et infactum secundum Pythagoram, sive natum et factum secundum Platonem, semel utique in hac constructione dispositum, et instructum, et ordinatum, cum omni rationis gubernaculo inventum est. Imperfectum non potuit esse, quod perficit omnia. Nihil Saturnum, et Saturniam gentem expectabat. Vani erunt homines, nisi certi sint a primordio, et pluvias de coelo ruisse, et sidera radiasse, et lumina floruisse, et tonitrua mugisse, et ipsum Jovem, quae in manu ejus ponitis, fulmina timuisse. Item omnem frugem ante Liberum, et Cererem, et Minervam, imo ante illum aliquem principem hominem de terra exuberasse, quia nihil continendo et sustinendo homini prospectum post hominem potuit inferri. Denique

invenisse dicuntur necessaria ista vitae, non instituisse: quod autem invenitur, fuit: et quod fuit, non ejus deputabitur qui invenit, sed ejus qui instituit. Erat enim, ante quam inveniretur. Caeterum si propterea Liber Deus, quod vitem demonstravit, male cum Lucullo actum est, qui primus cerasa ex Ponto Italiae promulgavit, quod non est propterea consecratus, ut novae frugis auctor, quia inventor et ostensor. Quam ob rem si ab initio et instructa, et certis exercendorum officiorum suorum rationibus dispensata universitas constitit, vacat ex hac parte causa allegendae[1] humanitatis in divinitatem: quia quas illis stationes et potestates distribuistis, tam fuerunt ab initio, quam et fuissent, etiam si deos istos non creassetis. Sed convertimini ad causam aliam, respondentes collationem divinitatis meritorum remunerandorum fuisse rationem. Et hinc concedetis (opinor) illum deum deificum justitia precellere, qui nec temere, nec indigne, nec prodige tantum praemium dispensarit. Volo igitur merita recensere, an ejusmodi sint, ut illos in coelum extulerint, et non potius in imum Tartarum merserint, quem carcerem poenarum infernarum, cum vultis, affirmatis. Illuc enim abstrudi solent impii quique in parentes, et in sorores incesti, et maritarum adulteri, et virginum raptores, et puerorum contaminatores, et qui saeviunt, et qui occidunt, et qui furantur, et qui decipiunt, et quicunque similes sunt alicujus dei vestri: quem neminem a crimine aut probare poteris, nisi hominem negaveritis? Atqui ut illos homines fuisse non possitis negare, etiam istae notae accedunt, quae nec deos postea factos credi permittunt. Si enim talibus vos puniendis praesidetis, si commercium, colloquium, convictum malorum et turpium probi quique respuitis, horum autem pares deus ille majestatis suae consortio adstruit: quid ergo damnatis quorum collegas adoratis? Suggillatio est in coelum vestra justitia. Deos facitis criminosissimos

[1] *Allegendae.*—This is the technical term to express a calling up to a higher rank: *allegere in Senatum* is a common phrase. Sometimes a dative follows the verb: as *cum anima Deo allegitur.*—Tert. de Resur. Carn., cap. 8.

quosque, ut placeatis diis vestris: illorum est honor, consecratio coaequalium. Sed, ut omittam hujus indignitatis retractatum: probi et integri et boni fuerint, quot tamen potiores viros apud inferos reliquistis, aliquem de sapientia Socratem, de justitia Aristidem, de militia Themistoclem, de sublimitate Alexandrum, de felicitate Polycratem, de copia Croesum, de eloquentia Demosthenem? Quis ex illis diis vestris gravior et sapientior Catone? Justior et militarior Scipione? Quis sublimior Pompeio? felicior Sylla? copiosior Crasso? eloquentior Tullio? Quanto dignius istos deus ille assumendos expectasset, praescius utique potiorum? Properavit, opinor, et coelum semel clausit, et nunc utique melioribus apud infernos mussitantibus erubescit.

XIX.—QUANTA SIT SACRAE SCRIPTURAE ANTIQUITAS, ET DE MOYSIS CAETERORUMQUE PROPHETARUM AETATE.

Igitur et literae Hebraeæ; et eloquium. Sed ne notitia vacaret, hoc quoque Ptolemaeo a Judaeis subscriptum est septuaginta et duobus interpretibus indultis, quos Menedemus quoque philosophus providentiae vindex de sententiae communione suspexit. Affirmavit haec vobis etiam Aristaeas, ita in Graecum stilum ex aperto monumenta reliquit. Hodie apud Serapeum Ptolemaei bibliothecae cum ipsis Hebraicis literis exhibentur. Sed et Judaei palam lectitant. Vectigalis libertas: vulgo aditur Sabbatis omnibus. Qui audierit, inveniet deum. Qui etiam studuerit intelligere cogetur et credere. Primam igitur instrumentis istis auctoritatem summa antiquitas vindicat.

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XX.—QUOD ET VETUSTISSIMIS SCRIPTORIBUS, ET RERUM PRAEDICTARUM EVENTU VERITAS PROBETUR.

Haec quibus ordinibus probari possint, non tam difficile est nobis exponere, quam enorme, nec arduum, sed interim longum. Multis instrumentis, cum digitorum supputariis gesticulis assidendum est. Reseranda antiquissimarum etiam

gentium archiva, Egyptiorum, Chaldaeorum, Phoenicum: advocandi etiam municipes eorum, per quos notitia subministrata est; aliqui Manethon Egyptius, et Berosus Chaldaeus; sed et Iromus Phoenix Tyri rex; sectatores quoque eorum Mendesius Ptolemaeus, et Menander Ephesius, et Demetrius, Phaleraus, et rex Juba, et Appion, et, Thallus, et qui istos aut probat, aut revincit, Judaeus Josephus antiquitatum Judaicarum vernaculus vindex. Graecorum etiam censuales conferendi, et quae quando sint gesta, ut concatenationes temporum aperiantur, per quae luceant annalium numeri. Peregrinandum est in historias et literas orbis. Et tamen quasi partem jam probationis intulimus, quum per quae probari possint, aspersimus. Verum differre praestat, ne vel minus persequamur festinando, vel diutius evagemur persequendo. Plus jam offerimus pro ista dilatione; majestatem scripturarum, si non vetustatem; divinas probamus, si dubitatur antiquas. Nec hoc tardius aut aliunde discendum; coram sunt quae docebunt, mundus, et seculum, et exitus. Quicquid agitur, praenuntiabatur; quicquid videtur, audiebatur. Quod terrae vorant urbes, quod insulas maria fraudant, quod externa atque interna bella dilaniant, quod regnis regna compulsant; quod fames, et lues, et locales quaeque clades, et frequentiae plerumque montium[1] vastant; quod humiles sublimitate, sublimes humilitate mutantur; quod justitia rarescit, iniquitas increbrescit, bonarum omnium disciplinarum cura torpescit; quod etiam officia temporum, et elementorum munia exorbitant; quod et monstris et portentis naturalium forma turbatur, providenter[2] scripta sunt. Dum patimur, leguntur; dum recognoscimus, probantur. Idoneum, opinor, testimonium divinitatis veritas divinationis. Hinc igitur apud nos futurorum quoque fides tuta est, jam scilicet probatorum, quia cum illis quae quotidie

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[1] Supposed to mean or imply *ferae*—wild beasts frequenting mountains. Cicero (de offic.) among the causes of depopulation, enumerates *belluarum repentinam multitudinem*, and Tertullian as an African might have witnessed such inflictions.—WOODHAM.

[2] See, *e.g.*, Ezek. v., 15.

probantur, praedicebantur. Eadem voces sonant, eadem literae notant, eadem spiritus pulsat, unum tempus est divinationi futura praefanti apud homines, si forte distinguitur dum expungitur, dum ex futuro praesens, dehinc ex praesenti praeteritum deputatur. Quid delinquimus (oro vos) futura quoque credentes, qui jam didicimus illis per duos gradus credere?

XXI.—QUID CHRISTIANI DIFFERANT AB HEBRAEIS, ET QUISNAM CHRISTUS QUOMODOQUE PASSUS.

Sed quoniam edidimus antiquissimis Judaeorum instrumentis sectam istam esse suffultam, quam aliquando novellam, ut Tiberii temporibus plerique sciunt, profitentibus nobis quoque, fortasse, an hoc nomine de statu ejus retractetur, quasi sub umbraculo insignissimae religionis, certe licentiae aliquid, propriae praesumptionis abscondat, vel quia praeter eatatem, neque de victus exceptionibus, neque de solemnitatibus dierum, neque de ipso signaculo corporis, neque de consortio nominis cum Judaeis agimus, quod utique oporteret si eidem deo manciparemur. Sed et vulgus jam scit Christum, utique aliquem hominum, qualem Judaei judicaverunt: quo facilius quis nos hominis cultores existimaverit. Verum neque de Christo erubescimus, cum sub nomine ejus deputari et damnari juvat: neque de Deo aliquid praesumimus aliter. Necesse est igitur pauca de Christo, ut de deo totum. Tantum Judaeis erat apud Deum gratia, ubi et insignis justitia, et fides originalium auctorum. Unde illis et generis magnitudo, et regni sublimitas floruit, et tanta felicitas, ut dei vocibus, quibus edocebantur, de promerendo deo, et non offendendo, praemonerentur. Sed quanta deliquerint, fiducia patrum inflati, ad declinandum derivantes a disciplina in profanum modum, et si ipsi non confiterentur, probaret exitus hodiernus ipsorum. Dispersi, palabundi, et coeli et soli sui extorres vagantur, per orbem, sine homine sine deo rege, quibus nec advenarum jure terram patriam saltem vestigio salutare conceditur. Cum haec illis sanctae voces praeminarentur,

eadem fere semper omnes ingerebant fore, uti sub extimis curriculis seculi, ex omni jam gente et populo et loco cultores sibi allegeret Deus multo fideliores, in quos gratiam transferret, et pleniorem quidem ob disciplinae altioris capacitatem. Venit igitur, qui ad reformandam, et illuminandam eam venturis a deo praenuntiabatur, Christus ille filius Dei.—Jam ediximus Deum universitatem hanc mundi verbo et ratione et virtute molitum. Apud vestros quoque sapientes λόγον, id est, sermonem, atque rationem constat artificem videri universitatis. Hunc enim Zeno determinat factitatorem, qui cuncta in dispositione formaverit; eundem et fatum vocari, et Deum, et animum Jovis, et necessitatem omnium rerum. Haec Cleanthes in spiritum congerit, quem permeatorem universitatis affirmat. Et nos etiam Sermoni, atque rationi, itemque virtuti, per quae omnia molitum Deum ediximus, propriam substantiam spiritus inscribimus, cui et sermo insit pronuntianti, et ratio adsit disponenti, et virtus praesit perficienti. Hunc ex Deo prolatum didicimus, et prolatione generatum, et idcirco filium dei, et Deum dictum ex unitate substantiae. Nam et Deus spiritus. Etiam cum radius ex sole porrigitur, portio ex summa, sed sol erit in radio, quia solis est radius, nec separatur substantia, sed extenditur. Ita de spiritu spiritus, et de Deo Deus. Ut lumen de lumine accensum, manet integra et indefecta materiae matrix, et si plures inde traduces qualitatum mutueris; ita et quod de Deo profectum est, Deus est, et Dei filius, et unus ambo.[1] Ita de spiritu spiritus, et de deo deus modulo alternum numerum gradu non statu fecit, et a matrice non recessit, sed excessit. Iste igitur dei radius, ut retro semper praedicabatur, delapsus in Virginem quandam, et in utero ejus caro figuratus nascitur homo Deo mistus. Caro spiritu instructa nutritur, adolescit, affatur, docet, operatur, et Christus est.

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[1] Neander (*Hist. of Doct.*) has acutely observed, as a characteristic of the Western Theology, the earnest assertion of the unity of essence, and of the Eastern, as represented by Origen, the distinction of subsistences in the Godhead.

XXXII.—QUARE PRO IMPERII RO. SALUTE CHRISTIANI ORENT.

Est et alia major necessitas nobis orandi pro Imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu imperii, rebusque Romanis, quod vim maximam universo orbi imminentem, ipsamque clausulam seculi acerbitates horrendas comminantem, Romani imperii commeatu scimus retardari. Itaque nolumus experiri, et dum precamur differri, Romanae diuturnitati favemus. Sed et juramus sicut non per genios Cesarum, ita per salutem eorum quae est augustior omnibus geniis. Nescitis genios daemonas dici, et inde diminutiva voce daemonia? Nos judicium dei suspicimus in Imperatoribus, qui gentibus illos praefecit. Id in eis scimus esse, quod deus voluit, et pro magno adjuramento habemus. Caeterum daemonas, id est genios, adjurare consuevimus, ut illos de hominibus exigamas: non dejerare, ut illis honorem divinitatis conferamus.

XXXIII.—IMPERATOREM HOMINEM ESSE, NON DEUM.

Sed quid ego amplius de religione, atque pietate Christiana in Imperatorem? quem necesse est suspiciamus ut eum quem dominus noster elegerit: ut merito dixerim, noster est magis Caesar, ut a nostro deo constitutus. Itaque ut meo, plus ego illi operor in salutem[1]; siquidem non solum ab eo postulo eam qui potest praestare, aut quod talis postulo, qui merear impetrare, sed etiam quod temperans majestatem Caesaris infra deum, magis illum commendo deo, cui soli subjicio. Subjicio autem cui non adaequo. Non enim Deum imperatorem dicam: vel quia mentiri nescio, vel quia illum deridere non audeo, vel qui nec ipse se deum volet dici, si homo sit. Interest homini, Deo cedere. Satis habeat appellari Imperator. Grande et hoc nomen est, quod a deo traditur. Negat illum imperatorem, qui deum dicit: nisi homo sit, non est imperator. Hominem se esse etiam triumphans in illo sublimissimo curru admonetur. Suggeritur enim ei a tergo, *Respice post te. Hominem memento te.*

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[1] *Illi operor, &c.*—Equivalent to "*illi plus operor in salutem.*"

Etiam utique hoc magis gaudet, tanta se gloria coruscare, ut illi admonitio conditionis suae sit necessaria. Minor erat, si tunc deus diceretur, quia non vere diceretur. Major est qui revocatur, ne se deum existimet.

XXXVII.—NE MALUM CONTRA MALUM.

Si inimicos (ut supra diximus) jubemur diligere, quem habemus odisse? Item si laesi vicem referre prohibemur, ne de facto pares simus, quem possumus laedere? Nam de isto ipsi recognoscite. Quoties enim in Christianos desaevitis, partim animis propriis, partim legibus obsequentes? Quoties etiam, praeteritis vobis, suo jure nos inimicum vulgus invadit lapidibus et incendiis? Ipsis Bachanalium furiis, nec mortuis parcunt Christianis, quin illos de requie sepulturae, de asylo quodam mortis, jam alios, jam nec totos avellant, dissecent, distrahant:[1] quid tamen de tam conspiratis unquam denotatis, de tam animatis ad mortem usque pro injuria repensatis? quando vel una nox pauculis faculis largitatem ultionis posset operari, si malum malo dispungi penes nos liceret. Sed absit ut aut igni humano vindicetur divina secta, aut doleat pati, in quo probatur. Si enim et hostes exertos, non tantum vindices occultos agere vellemus, deesset nobis vis numerorum et copiarum? Plures nimirum Mauri et Marcomanni, ipsique Parthi, vel quantaecunque unius tamen loci, et suorum finium gentes, quam totius orbis? Hesterni sumus, et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum. Sola vobis relinquimus templa. Cui bello non idonei, non prompti fuissemus, etiam impares copiis, qui tam libenter trucidamur? si non apud istam disciplinam magis occidi liceret quam occidere. Potuimus et inermes nec rebelles, sed tantummodo discordes solius divortii invidia adversus vos dimicasse. Si enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abrupissemus a

[1] *Jam alios—avellant.*—Refers to their mad rage, like very orgies, in violating the sepulchres of the dead, and dismembering the already decomposed bodies. *Alios*—So altered now!

vobis, suffudisset utique dominationem vestram tot qualiumcunque amissio civium: imo etiam et ipsa destitutione punisset: proculdubio expavissetis ad solitudinem vestram, ad silentium rerum, et stuporem quendam quasi mortuae urbis; quaesissetis quibus in ea imperassetis. Plures hostes quam cives vobis remansissent: nunc enim pauciores hostes habetis prae multitudine Christianorum penè omnium civium, penè omnis cives Christianos habendo. Sed hostes maluistis vocare generis humani potius quam erroris humani. Quis autem vos ab illis occultis et usquequaqae vastantibus mentes et valetudines vestras hostibus raperet? a daemoniorum incursibus dico, quae de vobis sine praemio, sine mercede depellimus. Suffecisset hoc solum nostrae ultioni, quod vacua exinde possessio immundis spiritibus pateret. Porro nec tanti praesidii compensationem cogitantes, non modo non molestum vobis genus, verum etiam necessarium, hostes judicare maluistis: qui sumus plane non generis humani tamen, sed potius erroris.

XXXIX.—DE DISCIPLINA CHRISTIANORUM.

Edam jam nunc ipsa negotia Christianae factionis, ut qui mala refutaverim, bona ostendam. Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis, et disciplinae veritate, et spei foedere. Coimus in coetum et aggregationem, ut ad deum quasi manu facta[1] precationibus ambiamus orantes. Haec vis deo grata est. Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum ac potestatibus, pro statu seculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. Cogimur ad literarum divinarum commemorationem, siquid praesentium temporum qualitas aut praemonere cogit, aut recognoscere. Certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, disciplinam praeceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus: Ibidem etiam exhortationis, castigationis, et censura divina. Nam et judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de dei conspectu:

[1] *Manu facta.*—"Like a military body, assail the throne of heaven, ply, wrestle."

summumque futuri judicii praejudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a communicatione orationis, et conventus, et omnis sancti commercii relegetur. Praesident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio sed testimonio adepti. Neque enim pretio ulla res dei constat, etiam si quod arcae genus est. Non de oneraria summa quasi redemptae religionis congregatur: modicam usquisque stipem menstrua die, vel quum velit, et si modo possit, apponit. Nam nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert. Haec quasi deposita pietatis sunt: nam inde non epulis, nec potaculis, nec ingratis voratrinis dispensantur, sed egenis alendis humandisque, et pueris ac pupillis re ac parentibus destitutis, aetateque domitis senibus, item naufragis, et si qui in metallis, et si qui in insulis, vel in custodiis, duntaxat ex causa dei sectae, alumni confessionis suae sunt. Sed ejusmodi vel maxime dilectionis operatio, notam nobis meruit penes quosdam. Vide, inquiunt, ut invicem se diligant. Ipsi enim invicem oderunt. Et ut pro alterutro mori sunt parati. Ipsi enim ad occidendum alterutrum paratiores erunt. Sed et quod fratres nos vocamus, non alias (opinor) insaniunt, quam quod apud ipsos omne sanguinis nomen de affectatione simulatum est. Fratres etiam vestri sumus jure naturae matris unius: etsi parum homines vos, quia mali fratres. At quanto dignius fratres et dicuntur, et habentur, qui unum patrem deum agnoverunt, qui unum spiritum biberunt sanctitatis, qui de uno utero ignorantiae ejusdem ad unam lucem expiraverunt veritatis: sed eo fortasse minus legitimi existimamur, quia nulla de nostra fraternitate tragoedia exclamat, vel quia ex substantia familiari fratres sumus, quae penes vos fere dirimit fraternitatem. Itaque qui animo animaque miscemur, nihil de rei communicatione dubitamus: omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos, praeter uxores. In illo loco consortium solvimus, in quo solo caeteri homines consortium exercent. Qui non amicorum solummodo matrimonia usurpant, sed et sua amicis

[1] *Alumni confessionis.*—A remarkable and rare form of expression. Literally "such as are the nurslings of their confession," or "suffer such penalties as their confession has brought on them."—*Woodham.*

patientissime subministrant: ex illa (credo) majorum, et sapientissimorum disciplina, Graeci Socratis, et Romani Catonis, qui uxores suas amicis communicaverunt, quas in matrimonium duxerant, liberorum causa et alibi creandorum, nescio quidem an invitas. Quid enim de castitate curarent, quam mariti tam facile donaverant? O sapientiae Atticae, O Romanae gravitatis exemplum! Leno est philosophus, et censor. Quid ergo mirum, si tanta caritas conviolatur? Nam et coenulas nostras, praeterquam sceleris infames, ut prodigas suggillatis. De nobis scilicet Diogenis dictum est: Megarenses[1] obsonant, quasi crastina die morituri, aedificant vero quasi nunquam morituri. Sed stipulam quis in alieno oculo facilius perspicit, quam in suo trabem. Tot tribubus et curiis, et decuriis ructantibus acescit aer. Saliis[2] coenaturis creditor erit necessarius. Herculanarum[3] decimarum, polluctorum sumptus tabularii supputabunt. Apaturiis,[4] Dionysiis,[5] mysteriis Atticis,[6] coquorum delectus inducitur. Ad fumum coenae Serapicae[7] sparteoli excitabuntur. De solo triclinio Christianorum retractatur. Coena nostra de nomine rationem suam ostendit; vocatur enim *agape*, id quod dilectio penes Graecos est. Quantiscunque sumptibus constet, lucrum est pietatis nomine facere sumptum. Siquidem inopes quosque refrigerio isto juvamus, non qua penes vos parasiti affectant, ad gloriam famulandae libertatis sub auctoramento ventris inter contumelias saginandi, sed qua penes Deum major est contemplatio mediocrium. Si honesta causa est convivii, reliquum ordinem

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[1] The people of Megara, though living after the principle "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die;" yet are stated by Isocrates to have possessed the largest houses in Greece.

[2] The feasts of the Salii, or priests of Mars, were remarkably sumptuous; *dapes saliares* became a proverbial expression for the most costly repasts.

[3] Testatur Terentius Varro majores solitos decimam Herculi vovere.—MACROBIUS.

[4] *Apat.*—Festival of Venus Apaturia.

[5] *Dion.*—The four great feasts of Bacchus at Athens.

[6] The Eleusinian mysteries.

[7] *Of Serapis.*—A chief divinity of the Egyptians, subsequently worshipped also in Greece and Rome.

disciplinae de causa aestimate, quid sit de religionis officio. Nihil vilitatis, nihil immodestiae admittit. Non prius discumbitur, que oratio ad deum praegustetur.. Editur quantum esurientes capiunt. Bibitur quantum pudicis est utile. Ita saturantur, ut qui meminerint etiam per noctem adorandum deum sibi esse. Ita fabulantur, ut qui sciunt dominum audire. Post aquam manualem et lumina, ut quisque de scripturis sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium deo canere. Hinc probatur quomodo biberit. Aeque oratio convivium dirimit. Inde disceditur non in catervas caesionum, neque in classes discursationum, nec in eruptiones lasciviarum, sed ad eandem curam modestiae et pudicitiae, ut qui non tam coenam coenaverint quam disciplinam. Haec coitio Christianorum merito sane illicita, si illicitis par: merito damnanda, si quis de ea queritur, eo titulo quo de factionibus querela est. In cujus perniciem aliquando convenimus? Hoc sumus congregati, quod et dispersi. Hoc universi, quod et singuli, neminem laedentes, neminem contristantes. Cum probi, cum boni coeunt, cum pii, cum casti congregantur, non est factio dicenda, sed curia. At e contrario illis nomen factionum accommodandum est, qui in odium bonorum et proborum conspirant, qui adversum sanguinem innocentium conclamant, praetexentes sane ad odii defensionem illam quoque vanitatem, quod existiment omnis popularis incommodi Christianos esse causam. Si Tyberis ascendit in moenia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva: si coelum stetit, si terra movit: si fames, si lues: statim, CHRISTIANOS AD LEONES, acclamatur: tantos ad unum. Oro vos, ante Tiberium, id est ante Christi adventum, quantae clades orbem et urbem ceciderunt?[1] Legimus Hierapolim, et Delon et Rhodon et Coon insulas, multis cum millibus hominum pessum abiisse. Memorat et Plato majorem Asiae et Africae terram Atlantico mari ereptam. Sed et mare

[1] The Pagans ascribed the calamities that befel the empire, in its decline, to the introduction of the Christian religion, and the neglect of the worship of the gods—almost all the Apologists notice this reproach.

Corinthium terraemotus ebibit, et vis undarum Lucaniam Italiae abscissam in Siciliae nomen relegavit. Haec utique non sine injuria incolentium accidere potuerunt. Ubi vero tunc, non dicam deorum vestrorum contemptores Christiani, sed ipsi dii vestri, cum totum orbem cataclysmus abolevit? Vel, ut Plato putavit, campestre solummodo? Posteriores enim illos clade diluvii contestantur ipsae urbes, in quibus nati mortique sunt, etiam quas condiderunt. Neque enim alias in hodiernum manerent, nisi et ipsae posthumae cladis illius. Nondum Judaeum ab Ægypto examen Palaestina susceperat, nec jam illic Christianae sectae origo consederat, cum regiones ac fines ejus Sodoma et Gomorra igneus imber exussit. Olet adhuc incendio terra, et si qua illic arborum poma oriantur oculis tenus, caeterum contracta cinerescunt. Sed nec Tuscia jam tunc, atque Campania de Christianis querebantur, cum Vulsinios de coelo; Pompeios de suo monte, profudit ignis. Nemo adhuc Romae deum verum adorabat, cum Annibal apud Cannas per Romanos annulos caedes suas modio metiebatur. Omnes dii vestri ab omnibus colebantur, cum ipsum Capitolium Senones[1] occupaverunt.

XL.—DE ADVERSIS URBIUM.

Et bene quod si quid adversi accidit urbibus, eædem clades templorumque et moenium fuerunt: ut jam hoc revincam non a deis evenire, quia et ipsis evenit. Semper enim humana gens male de deo meruit, primo quidem ut inofficiosa ejus, quem cum intelligeret ex parte, non requisivit, sed et alios insuper sibi commentata est quos coleret. Dehinc quod non inquirendo innocentiae magistrum, et nocentiae judicem et exactorem, omnibus vitiis et criminibus inolevit. Caeterum si requisisset, sequebatur ut cognosceret requisitum, et recognitum observaret, et observatum magis propitium experiretur quam iratum. Eundem ergo nunc quoque scire debet iratum, quem et retro semper, prius

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[1] Gauls, or ancient Celts, the name of their capital city, *Sens*.

que Christiani nominarentur: cujus bonis utebatur ante aeditis quam deos sibi fingeret, cur non ab eo etiam mala intelligat evenire, cujus bona esse non sensit? Illius rea est, cujus et ingrata. Etiam tamen si pristinas clades comparemus, leviora nunc accidunt, ex quo Christianos a deo orbis accepit. Ex eo enim et innocentia seculi iniquitates temperavit, et deprecatores dei esse coeperunt. Denique cum ab imbribus aestiva, hyberna suspendunt, et annus in cura est, vos quidem quotidie pasti, statimque pransuri, balneis et cauponis et lupanaribus operati, aquilicia Jovi immolatis, nudipedalia populo denunciatis, coelum apud Capitolium quaeritis, nubila de laquearibus expectatis, aversi ab ipso et deo et coelo. Nos vero jejuniis aridi, et omni continentia aspersi, ab omni vitae fruge dilati, in sacco et cinere volutantes, invidia coelum tundimus, deum tangimus: et cum misericordiam extorserimus, Jupiter honoratur, Deus negligitur.

XLII.—CONTRA EOS QUI INFRUCTUOSOS DICEBANT CHRISTIANOS.

Sed alio quoque injuriarum titulo postulamur, et infructuosi in negotiis dicimur.[1] Quo pacto, homines vobiscum degentes, ejusdem victus, habitus, instructus, ejusdem ad vitam necessitatis? Neque enim Brachmanae, aut Indorum Gymnosophistae sumus sylvicolae, et exules vitae. Meminimus gratiam nos debere domino deo creatori. Nullum fructum operum ejus repudiamus. Plane temperamus, ne ultra modum, aut perperam utamur. Itaque non sine foro, non sine macello, non sine balneis, tabernis, officinis, stabulis, nundinis vestris, caeterisque commerciis cohabitamus in hoc seculo. Navigamus et nos vobiscum, et militamus, et rusticamur, et mercamur: proinde miscemus artes, opera nostra publicamus usui vestro. Quomodo infructuosi videamur negotiis vestris, cum quibus et de quibus vivimus, non

[1] One of the charges against the Christian religion was that it engendered an unsocial spirit, and unfitted them for being citizens of the world. Tertullian refutes this charge.

scio. Sed ceremonias tuas non frequento; attamen illa die homo sum. Non lavor diluculo Saturnalibus, ne et noctem et diem perdam. Attamen lavor honesta hora et salubri, quae mihi et colorem et sanguinem servet. Rigere et pallere post lavacrum mortuus possum.[1] Non in publico Liberalibus discumbo, quod bestiariis suprema coenantibus mos est: Attamen ubiubi de copiis tuis coeno. Non emo capiti coronam: Quid tua interest, emptis nihilo minus floribus quomodo utar? puto gratius esse liberis, et solutis, et undique vagis. Sed et si in coronam coactis, nos coronam naribus admovimus: Viderint qui per capillum odorantur. Spectaculis non convenimus. Quae tamen apud illos coetus venditantur, si desideravero, liberius de propriis locis sumo. Thura plane non emimus. Si Arabiae queruntur, sciant Sabaei pluris et carioris suas merces Christianis sepeliendis profligari, quam diis fumigandis. Certe, inquitis, templorum vectigalia quotidie decoquunt. Stipes quotusquisque jam jactat: Non sufficimus et hominibus, et diis vestris mendicantibus opem ferre: nec putamus aliis quam petentibus impertiendum. Denique porrigat manum Jupiter, et accipiat: cum interim plus nostra misericordia insumit vicatim, quam vestra religio templatim. Sed caetera vectigalia gratias Christianis agant ex fide dependentibus debitum, qua alieno fraudando abstinemus, ut si ineatur quantum vectigalibus pereat fraude et mendacio vestrarum professionum, facile ratio haberi possit, unius speciei querela compensata pro commodo caeterarum rationum.

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XLVI.—QUANTUM INCOMMODI RESPUB. PATIATUR EX MORTE INNOCENTIUM CHRISTIANORUM.

At enim illud detrimentum reipublicae tam grande quam verum nemo circumspicit. Illam injuriam civitatis nullus expendit, cum tot justi impendimur, cum tot innocentes erogamur. Vestros enim jam contestamur actus, qui quo-

[1] The Saturnalia fell in December—bathing, as a part of their festival, he insinuates to be unseasonable.

tidie judicandis custodiis[1] praesidetis, qui sententiis elogia dispungitis, tot a vobis nocentes variis criminum elogiis recensentur, quis illic sicarius? quis manticularius[2]? quis sacrilegus? aut corruptor? aut lavantium praedo[3]? quis ex illis etiam Christianus ascribitur: aut cum Christiani suo titulo offeruntur, quis ex illis etiam talis, quales tot nocentes? De vestris semper aestuat carcer, de vestris semper metalla suspirant. De vestris semper bestiae saginantur, de vestris semper munerarii noxiorum greges pascunt. Nemo illic Christianus, nisi plane tantum Christianus: aut si et aliud, jam non Christianus.

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L.—CHRISTIANUM FORTI ANIMO ESSE, ETIAM CAPITE DAMNATUM.

Ergo, inquitis, cur querimini quod vos insequamur, si pati vultis, cum diligere debeatis per quos patimini quod vultis? Plane volumus pati, verum eo more, quo et bellum miles. Nemo quippe libens patitur, cum et trepidare, et periclitari sit necesse: tamen et praeliatur omnibus viribus, et vincens in praelio gaudet, qui de praelio querebatur, quia et gloriam consequitur, et praedam. Praelium est nobis, quod provocamur ad tribunalia, ut illic sub discrimine capitis pro veritate certemus. Victoria est autem pro quo certaveris, obtinere. Ea victoria habet et gloriam placendi deo, et praedam vivendi in aeternum. Sed obducimur certe, cum obtinuimus: ergo vincimus, cum occidimur: denique evadimus, cum obducimur. Licet nunc sarmenticios, et semissios appelletis, quia ad stipitem dimidii assis revincti sarmentorum ambitu exurimur. Hic est habitus victoriae nostrae. Haec palmata vestis. Tali curru triumphamus. Merito itaque victis non placemus: propterea enim desperati et perditi existimamur. Sed haec desperatio et perditio penes vos in causa gloriae

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[1] *Custodiis*—prisons.—The word used here for prisoners, as used by the later writers, e. g., Suetonius and Seneca.

[2] *Manticularius.*—A derivative of *mantica*, a bag or scrip.

[3] *Lavantium praedo.*—A thief or pillager at the baths.

et famae vexillum virtutis extollunt. Mutius dextram suam libens in ara reliquit. O sublimitas animi! Empedocles totum sese Catanensium Ætneis incendiis donavit. O vigor mentis! Aliqua Carthaginis conditrix rogo se, secundum matrimonium, dedit. O praeconium castitatis! Regulus, ne unus pro multis hostibus viveret, toto corpore cruces patitur. O virum fortem, et in captivitate victorem! Anaxarchus, cum in exitium, ptissanae pilo contunderetur, tunde, tunde, aiebat, Anaxarchi follem, Anaxarchum enim non tundis. O Philosophi magnanimitatem, qui tali de suo exitu etiam jocabatur! Omitto eos qui cum gladio proprio, aliove genere mortis mitiore, de laude pepigerunt. Ecce enim et tormentorum certamina coronantur a vobis. Attica meretrix, carnifice jam fatigato, postremo linguam suam comestam in faciem tyranni saevientis expuit, ut expueret et vocem, ne conjuratos confiteri posset, si etiam victa voluisset. Zeno Eleates consultus a Dionysio, quidnam philosophia praestaret, cum respondisset, Contemptum mortis, impassibilibus flagellis tyranni objectus sententiam suam ad mortem usque signabat. Certe Laconum flagella, sub oculis etiam hortantium propinquorum acerbata, tantum honorem domui conferunt, quantum sanguinis fuderint. O gloriam licitam, quia humanam, cui nec praesumptio perdita, nec persuasio desperata reputatur. In contemptu mortis, et atrocitatis omnimodo animi tantum pro patria, pro imperio, pro amicitia pati permissum est, quantum pro deo non licet. Et tamen illis omnibus et statuas diffunditis, et imagines inscribitis, et titulos inciditis, in aeternitatem quantum de monumentis potestis: scilicet praestatis et ipsis quodammodo mortuis resurrectionem. Hanc qui veram a deo sperat, si pro deo patiatur, insanus est. Sed hoc agite, boni praesides, meliores multo apud populum, si illis Christianos immolaveritis: Cruciate, torquete, damnate, atterite nos. Probatio est enim innocentiae nostrae iniquitas vestra. Ideo nos haec pati deus patitur. Nam et proxime AD LENONEM clamando Christianam, potius quam ad leonem, confessi estis labem pudicitiae apud nos atrociorem omni poena et

omni morte reputari. Nec quicquam tamen profuit. Exquisitior quaeque crudelitas vestra, illecebra[1] est magis sectae. Plures efficimur, quoties metimur a vobis. Semen est sanguis Christianorum. Multi apud vos ad tolerantiam doloris, et mortis hortantur, ut Cicero in Tusculanis, ut Seneca in Fortuitis[2], ut Diogenes, ut Pyrrhon, ut Calinicus. Nec tamen tantos inveniunt verba discipulos, quantos Christiani factis docendo. Illa ipsa obstinatio, quam exprobratis, magistra est[3]. Quis enim non contemplatione ejus concutitur ad requirendum, quid intus in re sit? Quis non, ubi requisivit, accedit? Ubi accessit, pati exoptat? ut totam dei gratiam redimat, ut omnem veniam ab eo compensatione sanguinis sui expediat? Omnia enim huic operi delicta donantur[4]. Inde est, quod ibidem sententiis vestris gratias agimus; ut est aemulatio divinae rei, et humanae: cum damnamur a vobis, a deo absolvimur[5].

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[1] *Illecebra, &c.*—The more power has our religion to entice proselytes.

[2] *Fortuitis.*—A tract written by Seneca: "*De Remed o Fortuitorum.*"

[3] *Magistra est.*—What you reproach in us as stubbornness has *prevailed* to bring conviction to others.

[4] The idea appears here, which in those days of martyrdom became common, that the sufferings of the martyrs were as a baptism of blood, and cleansed from sin. So Cyprian, speaks of the "*gloriosissimo sanguinis baptismo.*"—*Epi.* 73 The idea claimed support from such scriptures as Matt. v. 10., John xii. 25.

[5] *Æmulatio.*—A happy variance between the divine and human judgment.

TERTULLIANUS ADVERSUS PRAXEAM.[1]

VIII. Quæcunque ergo substantia sermonis fuit, illam dico personam, et illi nomen filii vindico: et dum filium agnosco, secundum a patre defendo. Hoc si qui putaverit me προβολὴν aliquam introducere, id est, prolationem rei alterius ex altera, quod fecit Valentinus, alium atque alium æonem de æone producens: primo quidem dicam tibi, non ideo non utatur et veritas vocabulo isto, et re ac censu ejus, quia et hæresis utitur: immo hæresis potius veritate accepit, quod ad mendacium suum strueret. Prolatus est sermo Dei an non? Hic mecum gradum fige. Si prolatus est, cognosce probolen veritatis, et viderit hæresis, si quid de veritate imitata est. Jam nunc quaeritur, quis quomodo utatur aliqua re, et vocabulo ejus. Valentinus probolas suas discernit et separat ab auctore: et ita longe ab eo ponit, ut Æon patrem nesciat. Denique desiderat nosse, nec potest: immo et pene devoratur, et dissolvitur in reliquam substantiam. Apud nos

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[1] *Praxeas* held what were afterwards known better as the Sabellian opinions. His followers were called Monarchists and Patripassians, because of their denying the distinction of persons in the Godhead, and so asserting or implying that the father suffered. Praxeas, having first endeavoured to spread his opinions at Rome, sought Africa as his field, where Hermogenes labored to diffuse Sabellian and Gnostic errors: both encountered the able opposition of Tertullian. Mosheim, after Epiphanius, treating of the opinions of Noetus—said to have been the teacher of Sabellius—distinguishes them from those of Sabellius thus: "Noetus was of opinion, that the person of the Father had assumed the human nature of Christ; whereas Sabellius maintained that a certain energy only, proceeding from the Supreme Parent, or a certain portion of the divine nature was united to the Son of God, the man Jesus." Augustine, in his book "de hæresibus," wonders at Epiphanius insisting on the distinction, and identifies Noetus and Praxeas with Sabellius, just as the Donatists with the Parmeniasts; or the Pelagians with the Celestians. Sabellians, he affirms, were called Patripassians. "Quomodo possunt intelligi quilibet eorum Patrem passum fuisse non dicere, cum dicant eundem ipsum esse et Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum?" Noetus, at Smyrna, had the famous Hippolytus for his opponent, as Praxeas had Tertullian. God had every where his witnesses; which we may, with Milner, feel it a relief to think of, when obliged to notice so many errors even in early times.

autem solus filius patrem novit, et sinum patris ipsi exposuit, et omnia apud patrem audivit et vidit, et quæ mandatus est a patre, ea et loquitur. Nec suam, sed patris prefecit voluntatem: quam de proximo, immo de initio noverat. *Quis enim scit quae sint in Deo, nisi Spiritus qui in ipso est?* sermo autem spiritu structus est et, ut ita dixerim, sermonis corpus est spiritus. Sermo ergo et in patre semper sicut dicit: *Ego in patre.* Et apud Deum semper, sicut scriptum est: *Et sermo erat apud Deum.* Et nunquam separatus a patre, aut alius a patre: quia; *ego et pater unum sumus.* Haec erit probola veritatis, custos unitatis, qua prolatum dicimus filium a patre, sed non separatum. Protulit enim Deus sermonem, quemadmodum etiam [1] Paracletus docet: sicut radix fructicem, et fons fluvium, et sol radium. Nam et istæ species probolæ sunt earum substantiarum, ex quibus prodeunt. Nec dubitaverim filium dicere, et radicis fruticem, et fontis fluvium, et solis radium: quia omnis origo parens est: et omne quod ex origine prefertur, progenies est: multo magis sermo Dei, qui etiam proprie nomen filii accepit: nec frutex tamen a radice, nec fluvius a fonte, nec radius a sole discernitur, sicut nec a Deo sermo. Igitur secundum horum formam, profiteor me duos dicere, Deum et sermonem ejus, patrem et filium ipsius. Nam et radix et frutex duæ res sunt, sed conjunctæ. Et fons et flumen duae species sunt, sed indivisæ. Et sol et radius duæ formæ sunt, sed cohærentes. Omne quod prodit ex aliquo, secundum sit ejus necesse est de quo prodit, non ideo tamen est separatum. Secundus autem ubi est, duo sunt. Et tertius ubi est, tres sunt. Tertius enim est Spiritus a Deo and Filio, sicut tertius a radice fructus ex frutice. Et tertius a fonte, rivus ex flumine. Et tertius a sole, apex ex radio. Nihil tamen a matrice alienatur, a qua proprietates

[1] *Paracletus.*—Tertullian came to acknowledge the Paraclete in Montanus; and it is thought in some of his expressions in this treatise and his references to John xvi—he means the Paraclete as distinguished from the Holy Ghost in the Apostles. He surely, however, identifies the Paraclete with the third person of the Godhead in his account of the hypostases, or the *economia.*—(See section IX.)

suas ducit. Ita Trinitas per consertos et connexos gradus a patre decurrens, et monarchiae nihil obstrepit, et *οἰκονομαίς* statum protegit.

IX. Hanc me regulam professum, qua inseparatos ab alterutro Patrem et Filium et Spiritum testor, tene ubique et ita quid quomodo dicatur agnosces. Ecce enim dico alium esse patrem, et alium filium, et alium spiritum. Male accepit idiotes quisque aut perversus hoc dictum, quasi diversitatem sonet, et ex diversitate separationem protendat, patris, filii, et spiritus. Necessitate autem hoc dico, cum eundem patrem et filium et spiritum contendunt, adversus *οἰκονομίαν* monarchiæ adulantes, non tamen diversitate alium filium a patre, sed distributione: nec divisione alium sed distinctione: quia non sit idem pater et filius, vel modulo alius ab alio. Pater enim tota substantia est, filius vero derivatio totius et portio, sicut ipse profitetur: quia major me est. A quo et minoratus[1] canitur in Psalmo, modicum quid, citra angelos. Sic et pater alius a filio, dum filio major: dum alius qui generat, alius qui generatur: dum alius qui mittit, alius qui mittitur: dum alius facit, alius per quem fit. Bene quod et Dominus usus hoc verbo in persona Paracleti, non divisionem significavit, sed dispositionem: Rogabo enim, inquit, patrem, et alium advocatum mittet vobis spiritum veritatis. Sic alium a se Paracletum, quomodo et nos a patre alium filium, ut tertium gradum ostenderet in Paracleto, sicut nos secundum in filio, propter *οἰκονομίας* observationem. Ipsum quod pater et filius dicitur, nonne aliud ab alio est? Utique enim omnia quod vocantur, hoc erunt: et quod erunt, hoc vocabuntur: et permiscere se diversitas vocabulorum non potest omnino: quia nec rerum, quarum erunt vocabula. *Est, est; non, non: nam quod amplius est hoc a malo est.*[2]

X. Ita aut pater aut filius est, et neque dies eadem et nox, neque pater idem et filius, ut sint ambo unus et utrumque

[1] Psalm viii., 5.
[2] Mat. v., 37.

alter; quod vanissimi isti Monarchiani volunt; ipse se, inquiunt, filium sibi fecit. Atquin pater filium facit et patrem filius. Et qui ex alterutro fiunt, a semetipsis sibi fieri nullo modo possunt, si pater se sibi filium faciat, et filius se sibi patrem praestet. Quae instituit Deus, etiam ipse custodit. Habeat necesse est pater filium, ut pater sit: et filius patrem, ut filius sit.

XIX. Quia, *Sophia*[1] *in Sermone adsistente paratum est coelum:* et omnia per Sermonem sunt facta, competit et filium solum extendisse cœlum, quia solus operationi patris ministravit. Idem erit dicens: *Ego primus, et in superventura ego sum.*[2] Primum scilicet omnium, sermo, in principio erat sermo: in quo principio prolatus a patre est. Ceterum pater non habens initium, ut a nullo prolatus, ut innatus, non potest videri. Qui solus fuit semper, ordinem habere non potuit. Igitur si propterea eundem et patrem et filium credendum putaverunt ut unum Deum vindicent, salva est unio ejus qui quum sit unus, habeat et filium, aeque et ipsum eisdem scripturis comprehensum. Si filium nolunt secundum a patre reputari, ne secundus duos faciat Deos dici, ostendimus etiam duos Deos in scriptura relatos et duos Dominos: et tamen ne de isto scandalizentur, rationem reddimus, quâ Dei non duo dicantur, nec Domini, sed quâ pater et filius duo: et hoc non ex separatione substantiae, sed ex dispositione, quum individuum et inseparatum filium a patre pronuntiamus, nec statu, sed gradu alium, qui etsi Deus dicatur, quando nominatur singularis, non ideo duos Deus faciat, sed unum, hoc ipso quod et Deus ex unitate patris vocari habeat.

XX. Sed argumentationibus eorum adhuc retundendis, opera praebenda est, si quid de scripturis ad sententiam suam excerpent, cœtera nolentes intueri, quæ et ipsa regulam servant, et quidem salva unione divinitatis, et monarchiæ

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[1] Prov. viii., 27.

[2] Isaiah xli., 4.

sonitu. Nam sicut in veteribus nihil aliud tenent, quàm, Ego Deus, et alius præter me non est: Ita in Evangelio responsionem Domini ad Philippum tuentur, ego et pater unum sumus, et qui me viderit, videt et patrem: Ego in patre, et Pàter in me. His tribus capitulis totum instrumentum utriusque Testamenti volunt cedere, cum oporteat secundum plura intelligi pauciora. Sed proprium hoc est omnium hæreticorum: nam quia pauca sunt quae in sylva inveniri possunt, pauca adversus plura defendunt, et posteriora adversus priora suscipiunt. Regula autem omni rei semper ab initio constituta in prioribus, et in posteriora praescribit, utique et in paucioribus.

XXI. Aspice itaque quanta praescribant tibi, etiam in Evangelio ante Philippi consultationem, et ante omnem argumentationem tuam. Et in primis ipsa statim praefatio Joannis Evangelizatoris demonstrat, quod retro fuerit qui caro fieri habebat: In principio erat sermo, et sermo erat apud Deum, et Deus erat sermo. Hic erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil. Nam si haec non aliter accipi licet, quam quomodo scripta sunt, indubitanter alius ostenditur, qui fuerit a principio, alius apud quem fuit: Alium sermonem Dei, alium Dominum: licet et Deus sermo, sed qua Dei filius, non qua pater. Alium per quem omnia, alium a quo omnia. Alium autem quomodo prædicamus, sæpe jam edidimus: quo alium dicamus necesse est, non eundem autem, non quasi separatum, dispositione alium, non divisione alium. Hic ergo factus ést caro, non ipse cujus erat sermo. Hujus gloria visa est tanquam unici a patre, non tamquam patris. Hic unus sinum patris disseruit: non sinum suum pater. Præcedit enim: Deum nemo vidit unquam. Inde etsi agnus Dei a Joanne designatur, non ipse cujus est dilectus. Certe filius dei semper sed non ipse cujus est filius. Hoc enim Nathanael statim sensit, sicut et alibi Petrus: Tu es filius Dei. Hoc et ipse recte sensisse illos confirmat: Nathanaeli quidem respondens: Quia dixi, vidi te sub ficu, ideo credis?

Petrum vero beatum adfirmans, cui non caro, neque sanguis revelasset (quod et patrem senserat) sed pater qui in coelis est. Quo dicto utriusque personae constituit distinctionem, et filii in terris, quem Petrus agnoverat Dei filium, et patris qui in coelis, qui Petro revelaverat quod Petrus agnoverat Dei filium Christum. Cum in templum introiit, aedem patris appellat, ut filius. Cum ad Nicodemum dicit: Ita dilexit Deus mundum, ut filium suum unicum dederit, in quem omnis qui crederit, non pereat, sed habeat vitam sempiternam. Et rursus, Non enim misit Deus filium suum in mundum, ut judicet mundum, sed ut salvus sit mundus per eum. Qui crediderit in illum, non judicatur: qui non crediderit in illum jam judicatus est, quia non credidit in nomine unici filii Dei. Joannes[1] autem, cum interrogaretur quid de Jesu contingeret, Pater, inquit, diligit filium, et omnia tradidit in manu ejus[2]. Qui credit in filium, habet vitam eternam: qui non credit in filium Dei, non videbit Deum, sed ira Dei manebit super eum.

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[1] *Joannes.*—Meaning John the Baptist. [2] John iii. 35, Vulgate.

II. MINUCIUS FELIX.

This admired writer was of the city of Rome, where he devoted himself to the practice of Law. Having become a convert to Christianity, he employed his fine talents in defence of the Gospel. The wisdom of Providence is to be recognised in the previous training, some as lawyers and philosophers, some as rhetoricians, of those who became pleaders for the faith.

M. Felix was nearly of the time—only a little later—of Tertullian, or Cyprian.

In the book "Octavius" we have a dialogue between one of that name, representing the Christians, and one Caecilius, an assailant of Christianity, on the part of the existing superstitious creeds: M. Felix is constituted arbiter between the disputants. The award of victory is given to Octavius—the other owning himself convinced.

In the construction of this dialogue—the colloquy may or may not have occurred—the author, having a thorough knowledge of Roman and general history, and of the opinions of the philosophers, powerfully vindicates both the faith and the morals of the Christians in comparison with theirs. The style is Ciceronian—the argument too sometimes coincides with that of Cicero for a God, though going further in the illustration of doctrines unknown to the Roman orator. We give nearly the whole of the dialogue. We do not wonder that the author of the History of Christianity, without even excepting Lactantius, says of this precious ancient composition: "Perhaps no late work, either Pagan or Christian, reminds us of the golden days of Latin prose, so much as the 'Octavius' of Minucius Felix."—Milman, page 482.

M. MINUCII FELICIS

OCTAVIUS.

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[1] Tum sic Caecilius exorsus est: Quanquam tibi, Marce frater, de quo cum maxime quaerimus non sit ambiguum: utpote cum diligenter in utroque vivendi genere versatus repudiaris alterum, alterum comprobaris: inpraesentiarum tamen ita tibi informandus est animus, ut libram teneas aequissimi judicis, nec in alteram partem propensus incumbas, ne, non tam ex nostris disputationibus nata sententia, quam ex tuis sensibus prolata videatur. Proinde si mihi quasi novus aliquis, et quasi ignarus partis utriusque considas, nullum negotium est patefacere, omnia in rebus humanis dubia, incerta, suspensa: magisque omnia verisimilia, quam vera. Quo minus mirum est, nonnullos taedio investigandae penitus veritatis cuilibet opinioni temere potius succumbere, quam in explorando pertinaci diligentia perseverare. Itaque indignandum omnibus, in-

[1] *Tum.*—What precedes is merely introductory. The friends meet, and walk together near the mouth of the Tyber, enjoying the refreshing sea-breeze, during an intermission of labour. Passing by a statue of Serapis, Caecilius makes acknowledgment of the god; which gives occasion to Octavius to remonstrate courteously, as one lamenting over the error of so fine a mind. Caecilius welcomes the discussion, and opens out boldly on the subject of religion, indulging in some degree of scepticism, but inclined to rest contented with the existing religions. He gives expression to his prejudices against the Christian faith, and repeats, as if he credited them, the gross calumnies circulated against the Christians. In the structure of the dialogue, the author has put the argument of the unbeliever at its full strength. Even Gibbon is satisfied with it, as "elegant and circumstantial." The reply, by Octavius, is triumphant; though Gibbon pronounces Tertullian's answer "the boldest and most vigorous." Mosheim justly says, "the dialogue of Minucius Felix effaces with such judgment, spirit, and force, the calumnies and reproaches that were cast upon the Christians by their adversaries, that it deserves an attentive perusal from those who are desirous to know the state of religion during the third century."

dolescendumque est, audere quosdam, et hoc studiorum rudes, literarum profanos, expertes artium etiam sordidarum, certum aliquid de summa rerum, ac majestate decernere, de qua tot omnibus seculis sectarum plurimarum usque adhuc ipsa Philosophia deliberat. Nec immerito; cum tantum absit ab exploratione divina humana mediocritas, ut neque quae supra nos coelo suspensa sublata sunt, neque quae infra terram profunda demersa sunt, aut scire sit datum, aut scrutari permissum, aut stuprare religiosum: et beati satis, satisque prudentes jure videamur, si secundum illud vetus Sapientis oraculum, nosmetipsos familiarius noverimus. Sed quatenus indulgentes insano, atque inepto labori, ultra humilitatis nostrae terminos evagamur, et in terram projecti, coelum ipsum, et ipsa sidera audaci cupiditate transcendimus, vel hunc errorem saltem, non vanis et formidolosis opinionibus implicemus. Sint principio omnium semina natura in se coeunta densata: quis hic auctor Deus? Sint fortuitis concursionibus totius mundi membra coalita, digesta, formata: quis Deus machinator? Sidera licet ignis accenderit, et coelum licet sua materia suspenderit: licet terram fundaverint pondera, et mare licet influxerit liquor: unde haec religio, unde formido, quae superstitio est? Homo et animal omne quod nascitur, inspiratur, attollitur, elementorum ut voluntaria concretio est: in quae rursum homo, et animal omne dividitur, solvitur, dissipatur. Ita in fontem refluunt, et in semet omnia revolvuntur, nullo artifice, nec judice, nec auctore. Sic, congregatis ignium seminibus, soles alios atque alios semper splendere. Sic, exhalatis terrae vaporibus, nebulas semper adolescere; quibus densatis coactisque, nubes altius surgere; iisdem labentibus, pluvias fluere, flare ventos, grandines increpare, vel nimbis collidentibus, tonitrua mugire, rutilare fulgura, fulmina praemicare. Adeo passim cadunt, montes irruunt, arboribus incurrunt, sine delectu tangunt loca sacra et profana, homines noxios feriunt, et saepe religiosos. Quid tempestates loquar varias et incertas; quibus nullo ordine, vel examine, rerum omnium impetus volutatur? In

naufragiis, bonorum malorumque fata mixta, merita confusa? In incendiis, interitum convenire insontium nocentiumque? Et cum tabe pestifera coeli tractus inficitur, sine discrimine omnes deperire? Et, cum belli ardore saevitur, meliores potius occumbere? In pace etiam, non tantum aequatur nequitia melioribus, sed et colitur: ut in pluribus nescias, utrum sit eorum detestanda pravitas, an optanda felicitas. Quod si mundus divina providentia, et alicujus numinis auctoritate regeretur, numquam mereretur Phalaris et Dionysius regnum; nunquam Rutilius et Camillus exilium, nunquam Socrates venenum. Ecce arbusta frugifera, ecce jam seges cana, jam temulenta vindemia, imbri corrumpitur, grandine caeditur. Adeo aut incerta nobis veritas occultatur et premitur: aut, quod magis credendum est, variis et lubricis casibus, soluta legibus fortuna dominatur. Cum igitur aut fortuna certa, aut incerta natura sit; quanto venerabilius ac melius antistitem veritatis majorum excipere disciplinam? religiones traditas colere? deos, quos a parentibus ante imbutus es timere, quam nosse familiarius, adorare? nec de numinibus ferre sententiam, sed prioribus credere, qui adhuc rudi seculo in ipsius mundi natalibus, meruerunt deos vel faciles habere, vel reges? Inde adeo per universa imperia, provincias, oppida, videmus singulos sacrorum ritus gentiles habere, et deos colere municipes, ut Eleusinios Cererem, Phrygas Matrem, Epidaurios Æsculapium, Chaldaeos Belum, Astartem Syros, Dianam Taurios, Gallos Mercurium, universa Romanos. Sic eorum potestas auctoritas, totius orbis ambitus occupavit: sic imperium suum ultra Solis vias, et ipsius Oceani limites propagavit, dum exercent in armis virtutem religiosam, dum urbem muniunt sacrorum religionibus, castis virginibus, multis honoribus ac nominibus sacerdotum: dum obsessi, et citra solum Capitolium capti, colunt deos, quos alius jam sprevisset iratos; et per Gallorum acies mirantium superstitionis audaciam pergunt telis inermes, sed cultu religionis armati: dum captis hostilibus moenibus adhuc ferociente victoria numina victa venerantur: dum undique hospites Deos quaerunt, et

suos faciunt: dum aras extruunt etiam ignotis Numinibus, et Manibus. Sic dum universarum gentium sacra suscipiunt, etiam regna meruerunt. Hinc perpetuus venerationis tenor mansit, qui longa aetate non infringitur. Quippe antiquitas ceremoniis atque fanis tantum sanctitatis tribuere consuevit, quantum adstruxerit vetustatis. Nec tamen temere, ausim enim interim et ipse concedere et sic melius errare, majores nostri aut observandis auguriis, aut extis consulendis, aut instituendis sacris, aut delubris dedicandis operam navaverunt. Specta de libris memorias, jam eos deprehendes initiasse ritus omnium religionum, vel ut remuneraretur divina indulgentia, vel ut averteretur imminens ira, aut ut jam tumens et saeviens placaretur. Testis mater Idaea [1], quae adventu suo et probavit matronae castitatem, et urbem metu hostili liberavit. Testes equestrium fratrum [2] in lacu, sicut ostenderant, statuae consecratae, qui anheli, spumantibus equis atque fumantibus de Perse victoriam, eadem die, qua fecerant, nuntiaverunt. Testis ludorum offensi Jovis de somno plebei hominis iteratio: et Deciorum devotio rata. Testis et Curtius, qui equitis sui vel molo vel honore hiatum profundae voraginis coaequavit. Frequentius etiam quam volebamus, deorum praesentiam contempta auspicia contestata sunt. Sic Allia nomen infaustum.[3] Sic Claudii, et Junii, non proelium in Poenos, sed ferale naufragium est. Et ut Thrasymenus Romanorum sanguine et major esset, et decolor, sprevit auguria Flaminius; et ut Parthos signa repetamos, dirarum imprecationes Crassus et meruit, et irrisit. Omitto vetera, quae multa sunt, et de deorum natalibus, donis, muneribus: negligo carmina poetarum: praedicta etiam de oraculis fata transilio, ne vobis antiquitas nimium fabulosa videatur. Intende templis ac delubris deorum, quibus Romana Civitas et protegitur et ornatur; magis sunt augusta numinibus incolis, praesentibus inqui-

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[1] *Mater Idaea.*—Cybele.

[2] *Fratrum.*—Castor and Pollux.

[3] *Allia.*—A river, the scene of a Roman reverse: hence Virg. Æn. vii. 717.—"*Infaustum interluit Allia nomen.*

linis, quam cultus insignibus et muneribus opulenta. Inde adeo pleni et mixti Deo vates futura praecerpunt, dant cautelam periculis, morbis medelam, spem afflictis, opem miseris, solatium calamitatibus, laboribus levamentum. Etiam per quietem deos videmus, audimus, agnoscimus, quos impie per diem negamus, nolumus, pejeramus. Itaque, cum omnium gentium de diis immortalibus, quamvis incerta sit vel ratio, vel origo, maneat tamen, firma consensio, neminem fere tanta audacia, tamque irreligiosa nescio qua prudentia tumescentem, qui hanc religionem tam vetustam, tam utilem, tam salubrem dissolvere, aut infirmare nitatur. Sit licet ille Theodorus Cyrenaeus,[1] vel qui prior Diagoras Melius cui Atheon cognomen apposuit antiquitas, qui uterque nullos deos asseverando, timorem omnem, quo humanitas regitur, venerationemque penitus sustulerunt: nunquam tamen in hac impietatis disciplina simulatae Philosophiae nomine atque auctoritate pollebunt. Cum Abderitem Protagoram, Athenienses viri, consulte potius, quam profane de divinitate disputantem, et expulerint suis finibus, et in concione ejus scripta deusserint: quid homines (sustinebitis enim me impetum susceptae actionis liberius exerentem) homines, inquam, deploratae, inlicitae, ac desperatae factionis [2] grassari in deos non ingemiscendum est? qui de ultima faece collectis imperitioribus et mulieribus credulis, sexus sui facilitate labentibus, plebem profanae conjurationis instituunt; quae nocturnis congregationibus et jejuniis solemnibus et inhumanis cibis, non sacro quodam, sed

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[1] *Diagoras, Protagoras, Theodorus*—sceptics mentioned by Cicero, de Nat. De. lib. i.—"*Diagoras, posteaque, Theodorus, nonne aperte Deorum naturam sustulerunt?*" After remarking on the general sense of a God: "*quo omnes duce natura vehimur,*" he adds of Protagoras, "*dubitare se dixit.*"

[2] *Illicitae ac desperatae factionis.*—So Christianity was accounted of. Christians had not yet the full toleration of law; and their nocturnal meetings exposed them to all sorts of reproaches at the hand of the heathen, judging of these secret meetings by their own "mysteries." "*Illicitae*" may be explained by what Tertullian says (*Apol. cap.* 5): "*non palam,*" *&c.*; *i.e.*, Aurelius did not go so far as distinctly to receive Christianity into the class of "lawful religions," though he threatened wanton accusers of the Christians with severe penalties. It only became "*religio licita,*" in the time of Gallienus, so far that churches could possess property.

piaculo foederantur. Latebrosa et lucifugax natio, in publicum muta, in angulis garrula ; templa ut busta despiciunt, deos despuunt, rident sacra, miserentur miseri, si fas est, sacerdotum, honores et purpuras despiciunt, ipsi seminudi. Proh ! mira stultitia et incredibilis audacia ! spernunt tormenta praesentia, dum incerta metuunt et futura : et dum mori post mortem timent, interim mori non timent. Ita illis pavor et fallax spes solatio redivivo blanditur. Ac jam ut fecundius nequiora proveniunt, serpentibus in dies perditis moribus, per universum orbem sacraria ista teterrima impiae coitionis adolescunt. Eruenda prorsus haec, et execranda consensio. Occultis se notis[1] et insignibus noscunt, et amant mutuo paene antequam noverint : passim etiam inter eos quaedam libidinum religio miscetur : ac se promiscue appellant fratres, et sorores, ut etiam non insolens stuprum intercessione sacri nominis fiat incestum. Ita eorum vana et demens superstitio sceleribus gloriatur.

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Multa praetereo consulto : Nam et haec nimis multa sunt, quae aut omnia, aut pleraque omnium vera declarat ipsius pravae religionis obscuritas. Cur etenim occultare et abscondere quidquid illud colunt magnopere nituntur ? cum honesta semper publico gaudeant, scelera secreta sint ? cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota simulacra, nunquam palam loqui, nunquam libere congregari, nisi illud quod colunt et interprimunt, aut puniendum est, aut pudendum ? Unde autem, vel quis ille, aut ubi Deus unicus, solitarius, destitutus ; quem non gens libera, non regna, non saltem Romana superstitio noverunt ? Judaeorum sola et misera gentilitas unum et ipsi Deum, sed palam, sed templis, aris, victimis, ceremoniisque coluerunt : cujus adeo nulla vis, nec potestas est, ut sit Romanis numinibus cum sua sibi natione captivus.

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[1] *Occultis notis.*—This may be explained by what Euseb. records of a martyr in Palestine, who, when dragged before the judge and counselled to sacrifice, signed herself with the venerable name of Christ : i. e., "with a cypher or monogram, expressing the name of Christ. This very ancient usage, (says Lord Hailes), intimated a Christian's faith and trust more instantaneously than any form of words could."—*Remains of Ch. Antiq. v.* iii.

At etiam Christiani, quaenam monstra, quae portenta confingunt? Deum illum suum, quem nec ostendere possunt, nec videre, in omnium mores, actus omnium, verba denique, et occultas cogitationes, diligenter inquirere? discurrentem scilicet, atque ubique praesentem: molestum illum volunt, inquietum, impudenter etiam curiosum. Siquidem adstat factis omnibus, locis omnibus intererrat: cum nec singulis inservire possit per universa districtus, nec universis sufficere in singulis occupatus. Quid? quod toti orbi, et ipsi mundo cum sideribus suis minantur incendium, ruinam moliuntur? quasi aut naturae divinis legibus constitutus aeternus ordo turbetur; aut rupto elementorum omnium foedere, et coelesti compage divisa, moles ista, qua continetur et cingitur, subruatur. Nec hac furiosa opinione contenti aniles fabulas adstruunt et annectunt. Renasci se ferunt post mortem et cineres et favillas: et nescio qua fiducia mendaciis suis invicem credunt. Putes eos jam revixisse. Anceps malum, et gemina dementia! coelo et astris, quae sic relinquimus, ut invenimus, interitum denuntiare: sibi mortuis, extinctis, qui sicut nascimur, et interimus, aeternitatem repromittere. Inde videlicet et execrantur rogos, et damnant ignium sepulturas:[1] Quasi non omne corpus, etsi flammis substrahatur, annis tamen et aetatibus in terram resolvatur; nec intersit, utrum ferae diripiant, an maria consumant: an humus contegat, an flamma subducat: cum cadaveribus omnis sepultura, si sentiunt, poena sit: si non sentiunt, ipsa conficiendi celeritate medicina. Hoc errore decepti beatam sibi, ut bonis, et perpetem vitam mortuis pollicentur; ceteris, ut injustis, poenam sempiternam. Multa ad haec suppetunt, ni festinet oratio. Injustos ipsos, magis nec laboro, jam docui; quanquam, etsi justos darem, culpam tamen, vel innocentiam fato tribui sententiis plurimorum et haec vestra consensio est. Nam quidquid

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[1] *Execrantur rogos.*—It is to the honour of our religion that the Christians manifested becoming care for their dead; and avoided the Roman fashion of burning corpses. In burying, instead, they returned to the ancient usage. Both as to the Jews and the Egyptians, Tacitus remarks: "*corpora condere, non cremare.*"

agimus, ut alii fato, ita vos Deo dicitis. Sic sectae vestrae non spontaneos cupere, sed electos. Igitur iniquum judicem fingitis, qui sortem in hominibus puniat, non voluntatem. Vellem tamen sciscitari, utrumne sine corpore, an cum corporibus ? et corporibus quibus ipsisne ? an innovatis resurgatur ? Sine corpore ? Hoc, quod sciam, neque mens, neque anima, nec vita est.[1] Ipso corpore ? Sed jam ante dilapsum est. Alio corpore ? Ergo homo novus nascitur, non prior ille reparatur. Et tamen tanta aetas abiit, secula innumera fluxerunt, quis unus ullus ab inferis vel Protesilai sorte remeavit, horarum saltem permisso commeatu, vel ut exemplo crederemus ? Omnia ista figmenta malesanae opinionis, et inepta solatia a poetis fallacibus in dulcedine carminis lusa, a vobis nimium credulis in Deum vestrum turpiter reformata sunt. Nec saltem de praesentibus capitis experimentum, quam vos irritae pollicitationis cassa vota decipiant. Quid post mortem impendeat, miseri! dum adhuc vivitis, aestimate. Ecce pars vestrum et major, melior, ut dicitis, egetis, algetis, opere, fame, laboratis : et Deus patitur, dissimulat ; non vult, aut non potest opitulari suis : Ita aut invalidus, aut iniquus est. Tu, qui immortalitatem postumam somnias, cum periculo quateris, cum febribus ureris, cum dolore laceraris, nondum conditionem tuam sentis ? nondum agnoscis fragilitatem ? invitus miser infirmitatis argueris, nec fateris ? Sed omitto communia. Ecce vobis minae, supplicia, tormenta, etiam non adorandae, sed subeundae cruces : ignes etiam, quos et praedicitis et timetis : ubi Deus ille, qui subvenire reviviscentibus potest, viventibus non potest ? Nonne Romani sine vestro Deo imperant, regnant, fruuntur orbe toto, vestrique dominantur ? vos vero suspensi interim atque solliciti, honestis voluptatibus abstinetis : non spectacula visitis, non pompis interestis ; convivia publica absque vobis ; sacra certamina, praecerptos cibos, et delibatos altaribus potus abhorretis. Sic reformi-

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[1] *Neque mens, neque, &c.*—The ancients could not conceive—a few excepted—of a spirit without a body. Even the *θεὸς ἀσώματος* of Plato is ridiculed by Velleius in Cic. de Nat. Deo.—See Book I., 12.

datis deos, quos negatis; non floribus caput nectitis, non corpus odoribus honestatis; reservatis unguenta funeribus[1]; coronas etiam sepulchris denegatis, pallidi, trepidi, misericordia digni, sed nostrorum deorum: Ita nec resurgitis miseri, nec interim vivitis.

Proinde si quid sapientiae vobis, aut verecundiae est, desinite coeli plagas, et mundi fata et secreta rimari. Satis est pro pedibus aspicere, maxime indoctis, impolitis, rudibus, agrestibus: quibus non est datum intelligere civilia, multo magis denegatum est disserere divina. Quanquam, si philosophandi libido est, Socratem sapientiae principem quisque vestrum tantus est, si poterit, imitetur. Ejus viri, quoties de coelestibus rogabatur, nota responsio est: QUOD SUPRA NOS, NIHIL AD NOS. Merito ergo de oraculo testimonium meruit prudentiae singularis; quod oraculum ipse praesensit, idcirco universis esse praepositum, non quod omnia comperisset, sed quod nihil se scire didicisset. Ita confessae imperitiae summa prudentia est. Hoc fonte defluxit Arcesilae, et multo post Carneadis et Academicorum plurimorum in summis quaestionibus tuta dubitatio; quo genere philosophari et caute indocti possunt, et docti gloriose. Quid? Simonidis Melici nonne admiranda omnibus, et sectanda cunctatio? qui Simonides, cum de eo, quid, et quales arbitraretur deos ab Hierone tyranno quaereretur, primo deliberationi diem petiit, prostridie biduum prorogavit, mox alterum tantum admonitus adjunxit; postremo cnm causas tantae morae tyrannus inquireret, respondit ille, quod sibi, quanto inquisitio tardior pergeret, tanto veritas fieret obscurior. Mea quoque opinione, quae sunt, dubia, ut sunt, relinquenda sunt: nec tot ac tantis viris deliberantibus temere et audaciter in alteram partem ferenda sententia est; ne aut anilis inducatur superstitio, aut omnis

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[1] Tertullian in reply to the charge against Christians of austere avoidance of innocent luxuries, says, "We purchase more ointment for the embalming of our dead, than you employ in fumigating your temples."

religio destruatur. * * * Cum toto silentio liceat responsionem Januarii[1] nostri, jam gestientis, audire.

Et OCTAVIUS: Dicam equidem, ut potero, pro viribus, et adnitendum tibi mecum est, ut conviciorum amarissimam labem verborum veracium flumine diluamus. Nec dissimulabo, principio ita Natalis mei errantem, vagam, lubricam nutasse sententiam, ut sit nobis ambigendum, utrum tua eruditio turbata sit, an vacillaverit per errorem. Nam interim deos credere, interim se deliberare variavit, ut propositionis incerto, incertior responsionis nostrae intentio fundaretur. Sed in Natali meo versutiam nolo, non credo, procul est ab ejus simplicitate subtilis urbanitas. Quid igitur? ut qui rectam viam nescit, ubi, ut fit, in plures una diffinditur, quia viam nescit, haeret anxius, nec singulas audet eligere, nec universas probare: sic cui non est veri stabile judicium, prout infida suspicio spargitur, ita ejus dubia opinio dissipatur. Nullum itaque miraculum est, si Caecilius identidem in contrariis ac repugnantibus jactetur, aestuet, fluctuetur: quod ne fiat ulterius, convincam et redarguam, quamvis diversa sint quae dicta sunt, una veritate confirmata probataque. Nec dubitandum ei de cetero est, nec vagandum. Et quoniam meus frater erupit aegre se ferre, stomachari, indignari, dolere, illiteratos, pauperes, imperitos, de rebus coelestibus disputare: sciat omnes homines sine delectu aetatis, sexus, dignitatis, rationis et sensus capaces et habiles procreatos; nec fortuna nactos, sed natura insitos esse sapientiam: quin ipsos etiam philosophos, vel si qui alii artium repertores in memorias exierunt, priusquam sollertia mentis parerent nominis claritatem, habitos esse plebeios, indoctos, seminudos: at vero divites facultatibus suis illigatos, magis aurum suspicere consuêsse, quam coelum; nostrates pauperes, et commentos esse prudentiam, et tradidisse ceteris disciplinam. Unde apparet ingenium non dari facultatibus, nec studio parari, sed cum ipsa mentis

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[1] *Januarius.*—A surname of Octavius, as *Natalis*, occurring after, was of Cæcilius.

formatione generari. Nihil itaque indignandum, vel dolendum, si quicumque de divinis quaerat, sentiat, proferat; cum non disputantis auctoritas, sed disputationis ipsius veritas requiratur: atque etiam, quo imperitior sermo, hoc illustrior ratio est: quoniam non fucatur pompa facundiae et gratiae, sed, ut est, recti regula sustinetur. Nec recuso, quod Caecilius asserere inter praecipua connisus est, hominem nosse se, et circumspicere debere, quid sit, unde sit, quare sit; utrum elementis concretus, an concinnatus atomis, an potius a Deo factus, formatus, animatus? Quod ipsum explorare et eruere sine universitatis inquisitione non possumus, cum ita cohaerentia, connexa, concatenata sint, ut, nisi divinitatis rationem diligenter excusseris, nescias humanitatis; nec possis pulchre gerere rem civilem, nisi cognoveris hanc communem omnium mundi civitatem: praecipue cum a feris belluis hoc differamus, quod illa prona, in terramque vergentia, nihil nata sint prospicere, nisi pabulum: nos quibus vultus erectus, quibus suspectus in coelum datus est, sermo, et ratio, per quae Deum agnoscimus, sentimus, imitamur, ignorare nec fas nec licet ingerentem sese oculis, et sensibus nostris coelestem claritatem. Sacrilegii enim vel maximi instar est, humi quaerere, quod in sublimi debeas invenire. Quo magis mihi videntur, qui hunc mundi totius ornatum non divina ratione perfectum volunt, sed frustis quibusdam temere cohaerentibus conglobatum, mentem, sensum, oculos denique ipsos non habere. Quid enim potest esse tam apertum, tam confessum, tamque perspicuum cum oculos in coelum sustuleris, et quae sunt infra circaque lustraveris, quam esse aliquod numen praestantissimae mentis, quo omnis natura inspiretur, moveatur, alatur, gubernetur? Coelum ipsum vide, quam late tenditur, quam rapide volvitur, vel quod in noctem astris distinguitur, vel quod in diem sole lustratur; jam scies quam sit in eo summi moderatoris mira et divina libratio. Vide et annum, ut solis ambitus faciat, et mensem vide ut luna auctu, senio, labore circumagat. Quid tenebrarum et luminis dicam recursantes vices, ut sit nobis operis et quietis alterna reparatio? Re-

linquenda vero astrologis prolixior de sideribus oratio, vel quod regant cursum navigandi, vel quod arandi, metendique tempus inducant: quae singula non modo ut crearentur, fierent, disponerentur, summi opificis, et perfectae rationis eguerunt, verum etiam sentiri, perspici, intelligi, sine summa sollertia et ratione non possunt. Quid? cum ordo temporum ac frugum stabili varietate distinguitur, nonne auctorem suum, parentemque testatur? Ver aeque cum suis floribus, et aestas cum suis messibus, et autumni maturitas grata, et hiberna olivitas necessaria: qui ordo facile turbaretur, nisi maxima ratione consisteret. Jam providentiae quantae, ne hiems sola glacie ureret, aut sola aestas ardore torreret, autumni et veris inserere medium temperamentum, ut per vestigia sua anni revertentis occulti et innoxii transitus laberentur. Mari intende, lege litoris stringitur. Quidquid arborum est vide, quam e terrae visceribus animatur. Aspice Oceanum, refluit reciprocis aestibus: vide fontes, manant venis perennibus: fluvios intuere, eunt semper exercitis lapsibus. Quid loquar apte disposita recta montium, collium flexa, porrecta camporum? Quidve animantium loquar adversus sese tutelam multiformem? alias armatas cornibus, alias dentibus septas, et fundatas ungulis, et spicatas aculeis, aut pedum celeritate liberas, aut elatione pinnarum? Ipsa praecipue formae nostrae pulchritudo Deum fatetur artificem, status rigidus, vultus erectus, oculi in summo, velut in specula constituti, et omnes ceteri sensus velut in arce compositi. Longum est ire per singula. Nihil in homine membrorum est, quod non et necessitatis causa sit, et decoris: et, quod magis mirum est, eadem figura omnibus, sed quaedam unicuique lineamenta deflexa: Sic et similes universi videmur, et inter se singuli dissimiles invenimur. Quid nascendi ratio? quid cupido generandi? nonne a Deo data est? et ut ubera partu maturescente lactescant, et ut tener foetus ubertate lactei roris adolescat?

Nec universitati solummodo Deus, sed et partibus consulit. Britannia sole deficitur, sed circumfluentis maris tepore recreatur. Ægypti siccitatem temperat Nilus; colit Euphra-

tes Mesopotamiam; Indus et serere Orientem dicitur, et rigare. Quod si ingressus aliquam domum, omnia exculta, disposita, ornata vidisses, utique præesse ei crederes dominum, et illis bonis rebus multo esse meliorem: ita in hac mundi domo, cum coelum terramque perspicias, providentiam, ordinem, legem, crede esse universitatis dominum, parentemque, ipsis sideribus, et totius mundi partibus pulchriorem. Ni forte, quoniam de providentia nulla dubitatio est, inquirendum putas, utrum unius imperio, an arbitrio plurimorum coeleste regnum gubernetur? quod ipsum non est multi laboris aperire cogitanti imperia terrena, quibus exempla utique de coelo. Quando unquam regni societas aut cum fide coepit, aut sine cruore discessit? Omitto Persas de equorum hinnitu augurantes principatum, et Thebanorum par mortuum, fabulam, transeo. Ob pastorum et casae regnum de geminis memoria notissima est. Generi et soceri bella toto orbe diffusa sunt, et tam magni imperii duos fortuna non cepit. Vide cetera. Rex unus apibus, dux unus in gregibus, in armentis rector unus: tu in coelo summam potestatem dividi credas, et scindi veri illius ac divini imperii totam potestatem? cum palam sit parentem omnium Deum nec principium habere, nec terminum; qui nativitatem omnibus praestet, sibi perpetuitatem: qui ante mundum fuerit sibi ipse pro mundo; qui universa quaecunque sunt, verbo jubet, ratione dispensat, virtute consummat. Hic nec videri potest, visu clarior est; nec comprehendi, tactu purior est; nec aestimari, sensibus major est, infinitus, immensus, et soli sibi, tantus quantus est, notus. Nobis vero ad intellectum pectus angustum est: et ideo sic eum digne aestimamus, dum inaestimabilem dicimus. Eloquar quemadmodum sentio; magnitudinem Dei, qui se putat nosse, minuit: qui non vult minuere, non novit. Nec nomen Deo quaeras, Deus nomen est: illic vocabulis opus est, cum per singulos propriis appellationum insignibus multitudo dirimenda est: Deo, qui solus est, Dei vocabulum totum est; quem si patrem dixero, terrenum opineris; si regem, carnalem suspiceris; si dominum, intelliges utique mortalem. Aufer

additamenta nominum, et perspicies ejus claritatem. Quid? quod omnium de isto habeo consensum? Audio vulgus, cum ad coelum manus tendunt, nihil aliud quam Deum dicunt, et, Deus magnus est, et, Deus verus est: et, si Deus dederit: vulgi iste naturalis sermo est, an Christiani confitentis oratio? Et qui Jovem principem volunt, falluntur in nomine, sed de una potestate consentiunt. Audio poetas quoque unum patrem divûm atque hominum praedicantes, et talem esse mortalium mentem, qualem parens omnium diem duxerit. Quid Mantuanus Maro? nonne apertius, proximius, verius? *Principio*, ait, *coelum et terras*, (et cetera mundi membra), *spiritus intus alit, et infusa mens agitat: inde hominum pecudumque genus*, et quidquid aliud animalium. Idem alio loco, mentem istam et spiritum Deum nominat. Haec enim ejus verba sunt. *Deum namque ire per omnes terrasque tractusque maris, coelumque profundum: unde homines et pecudes, unde imber et ignes.*[1] Quid aliud et a nobis Deus, quam mens, et ratio, et spiritus praedicatur? Recenseamus, si placet, disciplinam philosophorum; deprehendes eos, etsi sermonibus variis, ipsis tamen rebus in hanc unam coire et conspirare sententiam. Omitto illos rudes et veteres, qui de suis dictis sapientes esse meruerunt. Sit Thales Milesius omnium primus, qui primus omnium de coelestibus disputavit. Idem Milesius Thales rerum initium aquam dixit: Deum autem eam mentem, quae ex aqua cuncta formaverit; eo altior et sublimior aquae et spiritus ratio, quam ut ab homine potuerit inveniri, a Deo tradita. Vides philosophi principalis nobiscum penitus opinionem consonare. Anaximenes deinceps, et post Apolloniates Diogenes aëra Deum statuunt, infinitum, et immensum. Horum quoque similis de divinitate consensio est. Anaxagorae vero, descriptio et motus infinitae mentis Deus dicitur. Et Pythagorae Deus est animus, per universam rerum naturam commeans et intentus: ex quo etiam animalium omnium vita capiatur. Xenophanem notum est,

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[1] *Et ignes.*—Virg. Æn. i. 747, with 6, 724; Geo. lib. iv. 222.

omne infinitum cum mente, Deum tradere: et Antisthenem, populares deos multos, sed naturalem unum praecipuum. Speusippum vim naturalem, animalem, qua omnia regantur, Deum nosse. Quid Democritus? quamvis atomorum primus inventor, nonne plerumque naturam, quae imagines fundat, et intelligentiam, Deum loquitur? Straton quoque et ipse naturam. Etiam Epicurus ille, qui deos aut otiosos fingit, aut nullos, naturam tamen superponit. Aristoteles variat, et assignat tamen unam potestatem. Nam interim mentem, mundum interim Deum dicit, interim mundo Deum praeficit. Heraclides Ponticus quoque Deo divinam mentem, quamvis varie, adscribit, alias mundo, aiias menti divinae tribuens principatum. Theophrastus, et Zenon, et Chrysippus, et Cleanthes, sunt et ipsi multiformes, sed ad unitatem providentiae omnes revolvuntur. Cleanthes enim mentem, modo animum, modo aethera, plerumque rationem deum disseruit. Zenon ejusdem magister naturalem legem atque divinam, et aethera interim, interdumque rationem vult omnium esse principium: Idem interpretando Junonem aera, Jovem coelum, Neptunum mare, ignem esse Vulcanum, et ceteros similiter vulgi deos elementa esse monstrando, publicum arguit graviter et revincit errorem. Eadem fere Chrysippus, vim divinam, rationalem naturam, et mundum interim, et fatalem necessitatem Deum credit; Zenonemque interpretatione physiologiae in Hesiodi, Homeri, Orpheique carminibus imitatur. Babylonio etiam Diogeni disciplina est exponendi et disserendi Jovis partum, et ortum Minervae, et hoc genus cetera, erum vocabula esse, non deorum. Nam Socraticus Xenophon formam Dei veri negat videri posse, et ideo quaeri non oportere: Aristo Chius comprehendi omnino non posse. Uterque majestatem Dei, intelligendi desperatione senserunt. Platoni apertior de Deo, et rebus ipsis, et nominibus oratio est, et quae tota esset coelestis, nisi persuasionis civilis nonnunquam admixtione sordesceret. Platoni itaque in Timaeo Deus est ipso suo nomine mundi parens, artifex animae, coelestium terrenorumque fabricator: quem et invenire difficile, prae nimia

et incredibili potestate, et cum inveneris, in publicum dicere impossibile praefatur. Eadem fere et ista quae nostra sunt: Nam et Deum novimus, et parentem omnium dicimus; et nunquam publice nisi interrogati praedicamus.

Exposui opiniones omnium ferme philosophorum, quibus illustrior gloria est, Deum unum multis licet designasse nominibus: ut quivis arbitretur, aut nunc Christianos philosophos esse, aut philosophos fuisse jam tunc Christianos. Quod si providentia mundus regitur, et unius Dei nutu gubernatur, non nos debet antiquitas imperitorum fabellis suis delectata, vel capta, ad errorem mutui rapere consensus: cum philosophorum suorum sententiis refellatur, quibus et rationis et vetustatis adsistit auctoritas. Majoribus enim nostris tam facilis in mendaciis fides fuit, ut temere crediderint etiam alia monstruosa, mira miracula: Scyllam multiplicem, Chimaeram multiformem, et Hydram felicibus vulneribus renascentem, et Centauros equos suis hominibus implexos, et quidquid famae licet fingere, illis erat libenter audire. Quid illas aniles fabulas, de hominibus aves, et feras homines, et de hominibus arbores atque flores? quae si essent facta, fierent; quia fieri non possunt, ideo nec facta sunt. Similiter ac vero erga deos quoque, majores nostri improvidi, creduli, rudi simplicitate crediderunt: dum reges suos colunt religiose, dum defunctos eos desiderant in imaginibus videre, dum gestiunt eorum memorias in statuis detinere, sacra facta sunt quae fuerant adsumpta solatia. Denique antequam commerciis orbis pateret, et antequam gentes ritus suos moresque miscerent, unaquaeque natio conditorem suum, aut ducem inclytum, aut reginam pudicam sexu suo fortiorem, aut alicujus muneris vel artis repertorem venerabatur, ut civem bonae memoriae. Sic et defunctis praemium, et futuris dabatur exemplum. Lege Stoicorum scripta, vel scripta sapientium, eadem mecum recognosces: ob merita virtutis aut muneris deos habitos. Euhemerus exsequitur, et eorum natales, patrias, sepulchra dinumerat, et per provincias monstrat: Dictaei Jovis, et Apollinis Delphici, Phariae Isidis, et Cereris Eleusinae. Prodicus

assumptos in deos loquitur, qui errando inventis novis frugibus utilitati hominum profuere. In eandem sententiam et Perseus philosophatur, et adnectit inventas fruges et frugum ipsarum repertores iisdem nominibus, ut Comicus sermo est, Venerem sine Libero et Cerere frigere. Alexander ille magnus Macedo insigni volumine ad matrem suam scripsit, metu suae potestatis proditum sibi de diis hominibus a sacerdote secretum. Illic Vulcanum facit omnium principem, et postea Jovis gentem; de spicis Isidis ad hirundinem sistrum, et dispersis membris inanem tui Serapidis sive Osiridis tumulum. Considera denique sacra ipsa et ipsa mysteria, invenies exitus tristes, fata et funera, et luctus, atque planctus miserorum deorum. Isis perditum filium cum Cynocephalo suo et calvis sacerdotibus luget, plangit, inquirit: et Isiaci miseri caedunt pectora, et dolorem infelicissimae matris imitantur: mox, invento parvulo, gaudet Isis, exultant sacerdotes, Cynocephalus inventor gloriatur: nec desinunt annis omnibus vel perdere quod inveniunt, vel invenire quod perdunt. Nonne ridiculum est, vel lugere quod colas, vel colere quod lugeas? Haec tamen Ægyptia quondam, nunc et sacra Romana sunt. Ceres facibus accensis, et serpente circumdata, errore subreptam et corruptam Liberam anxia et sollicita vestigat. Haec sunt Eleusinia. Et quae Jovis sacra sunt? nutrix capella est, et avido patri subtrahitur infans, ne voretur, et Corybantum cymbalis, ne pater audiat vagitus, tinnitus eliditur. Cybelae Dindyma pudet dicere, quae adulterum suum infeliciter placitum, quoniam et ipsa deformis et vetula, ut multorum deorum mater, ad stuprum illicere non poterat, exsecuit, ut deum scilicet faceret eunuchum. Propter hanc fabulam Galli eam et semiviri sui corporis supplicio colunt. Haec jam non sunt sacra, tormenta sunt. Quid formae ipsae et habitus? nonne arguunt ludibria et dedecora deorum vestrorum? Vulcanos claudus Deus, et debilis: Apollo tot aetatibus levis: Æsculapius bene barbatus, etsi semper adolescentis Apollinis filius: Neptunus glaucis oculis, Minerva caesiis, bubulis Juno: pedibus Mercurius alatis, Pan ungulatis,

Saturnus compeditis: Janus vero frontes duas gestat, quasi ut aversus incedat: Diana interim est alte succincta venatrix: et Ephesia mammis multis, et uberibus extructa: et Trivia trinis capitibus, multis manibus horrifica. Quid ipse Jupiter vester? modo imberbis statuitur, modo barbatus locatur: et cum Hammon dicitur, habet cornua; et cum Capitolinus, tunc gerit fulmina; et cum Latiaris, cruore perfunditur; et cum Feretrius, non auditur. Et ne longius multos Jovis obeam, tot sunt Jovis monstra quot nomina. Erigone suspensa de laqueo est, ut virgo inter astra ignita sit: Castores alternis moriuntur, ut vivant: Æsculapius ut in Deum surgat, fulminatur: Hercules, ut hominem exuat, Œtaeis ignibus concrematur. Has fabulas et errores et ab imperitis parentibus discimus, et, quod est gravius, ipsis studiis et disciplinis elaboramus, carminibus praecipue poetarum, qui plurimum quantum veritati ipsa sua auctoritate nocuere. Et Plato ideo praeclare Homerum[1] illum inclytum laudatum et coronatum, de civitate, quam in sermone instituebat, ejecit. Hic enim praecipuus bello Troico deos vestros, etsi ludos facit, tamen in hominum rebus et actibus miscuit. * * * * * *

Unde manifestum est, homines illos fuisse, quos et natos legimus, et mortuos scimus. Quis ergo dubitat horum imagines consecratas vulgus orare, et publice colere; dum opinio et mens imperitorum artis concinnitate decipitur, auri fulgore praestringitur, argenti nitore et candore eboris hebetatur? Quod si in animum quis inducat, tormentis quibus, et quibus machinis simulacrum omne formetur, erubescet timere se materiem, ab artifice, ut deum faceret, illusam. Deus enim ligneus, rogi fortasse, vel infelicis stipitis portio, suspenditur, caeditur, dolatur, runcinatur: Et deus aereus vel argenteus de immundo vasculo, ut saepius factum Ægyptio regi, conflatur, tunditur malleis, et incudibus figuratur: et lapideus caeditur, scalpitur, et ab impurato homine

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[1] *Homerum ejecit.*—Plato, in his ideal republic, excluded Homer's writings as pernicious.

levigatur: nec sentit suae nativitatis injuriam, ita ut nec postea de vestrae veneratione culturam; nisi forte nondum deus saxum est, vel lignum, vel argentum. Quando igitur hic nascitur? ecce funditur, fabricatur, scalpitur. Nondum deus est. Ecce plumbatur, construitur, erigitur. Nec adhuc deus est. Ecce ornatur, consecratur, oratur. Tunc postremo deus est; cum homo illum voluit. et dedicavit. Quanta vero de diis vestris animalia muta naturaliter judicant? mures, hirundines, milvi, non sentire eos sciunt, rodunt, inculcant, insident, ac nisi abigatis, in ipso dei vestri ore nidificant. Araneae vero faciem ejus intexunt, et de ipso capite sua fila suspendunt. Vos tergitis, mundatis, eraditis, et illos, quos facitis, protegitis et timetis. Dum unusquisque vestrum non cogitat, prius se debere deum nosse, quam colere: dum inconsulte gestiunt parentibus obedire: dum fieri malunt alieni erroris accessio, quam sibi credere: dum nihil ex his quae timent, norunt; sic in auro et argento avaritia consecrata est; sic statuarum inanium consignata forma; sic nata Romana superstitio, quorum ritus, si percenseas, ridenda quammulta, multa etiam miseranda sunt.

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Quid irreligiosius, quid audacius, quid ipsa sceleris confidentia tutius? Jam finitimos agro pellere, civitates proximas evertere cum templis et altaribus: captos cogere: damnis alienis, et suis sceleribus adolescere, cum Romulo, regibus ceteris, et postremis ducibus disciplina communis est. Ita quidquid Romani tenent, colunt, possident, audaciae praeda est: templa omnia de manubiis, id est, de ruinis urbium, de spoliis deorum, de caedibus sacerdotum. Hoc insultare et illudere est, victis religionibus servire, captivas eas post victorias adorare. Nam adorare quae manu ceperis, sacrilegium est consecrare, non numina. Toties ergo Romanis impiatum est, quoties triumphatum: Tot de diis spolia, quot de gentibus et tropaea. Igitur Romani non ideo tanti quod religiosi, sed quod impune sacrilegi. Neque enim potuerunt in ipsis bellis deos adjutores habere, adversus quos arma rapuerunt, et quos post cladem detriumphatos colere coepe-

runt. Quid autem isti dii pro Romanis possunt, qui nihil pro suis adversus eorum arma valuerunt? Romanorum enim vernaculos deos novimus. Romulus, Picus, Tiberinus, et Consus, et Pilumnus ac Picumnus dii. Cloacinam Tatius et invenit et coluit: Pavorem Hostilius atque Pallorem. Mox a nescio quo Febris dedicata: haec alumna urbis istius superstitio, morbi et malae valetudines. Sane et Acca Larentia, et Flora, meretrices propudiosae, inter morbos Romanorum et deos computandae. Isti scilicet adversus ceteros, qui in gentibus colebantur, Romanorum imperium protulerunt. Neque enim eos adversum suos homines vel Mars Thracius, vel Jupiter Creticus, vel Juno nunc Argiva, nunc Samia, nunc Poena, nunc Diana Taurica, vel mater Idaea, vel Ægyptia illa non numina, sed portenta juverunt. * * * Eos spiritus daemonas esse poetae sciunt, philosophi disserunt, Socrates novit, qui ad nutum et arbitrium assidentis sibi daemonis vel declinabat negotia, vel petebat. Magi quoque, non tantum sciunt demonas, sed etiam quidquid miraculi ludunt, per daemonas faciunt. Illis aspirantibus et infundentibus praestigias edunt: vel quae non sunt, videri, vel quae sunt, non videri. Eorum et Magorum eloquio et negotio primus Hostanes, et verum Deum merita majestate prosequitur; et angelos, id est, ministros et nuntios Dei, sed veri, ejusque venerationi novit assistere: ut et nutu ipso, et vultu domini territi contremiscant. Idem etiam daemonas prodidit terrenas, vagos, humanitatis inimicos. Quid Plato? qui invenire Deum negotium credidit, nonne et angelos sine negotio narrat et daemonas? et in Symposio etiam suo naturam daemonum exprimere connititur? vult enim esse substantiam inter mortalem immortalemque, id est, inter corpus et spiritum, mediam, terreni ponderis at coelestis levitatis admixtione concretam, ex qua movet etiam in nos procupidinem amoris, et dicit informari et labi pectoribus humanis, et sensum movere, et affectus fingere, et ardorem cupiditatis infundere. Isti igitur impuri spiritus, daemones, ut ostensum a Magis, a philosophis, et a Platone, sub statuis et imaginibus consecrati delitescunt, et afflatu

suo auctoritatem quasi praesentis numinis consequuntur, dum inspirantur interim vatibus, dum fanis immorantur, dum nonnumquam extorum fibras animant, avium volatus gubernant, sortes regunt, oracula efficiunt falsis pluribus involuta. Nam et falluntur, et fallunt, ut et nescientes sinceram veritatem, et quam sciunt, in perditionem sui non confitentes. * * * * * *

Ipsis testibus esse eos daemonas de se verum confitentibus credite. Adjurati enim per Deum verum et solum, inviti, miseri, corporibus inhorrescunt; et vel exiliunt statim, vel evanescunt gradatim, prout fides patientis adjuvat, aut gratia curantis aspirat. Sic Christianos de proximo fugitant, quos longe in coetibus per vos lacessebant. Ideo inserti mentibus imperitorum, odium nostri serunt occulte per timorem. Naturale est enim et odisse, quem timeas, et quem metueris, infestare, si possis. Sic occupant animos, et obstruunt pectora, ut ante nos incipiant homines odisse, quam nosse: ne cognitos aut imitari, possint, aut damnare non possint. Quam autem iniquum sit, incognitis et inexploratis judicare, quod facitis, nobis ipsis poenitentibus credite; et nos enim idem fuimus, et eadem vobiscum quondam adhuc caeci et hebetes sentiebamus: quasi Christiani monstra colerent, infantes vorarent, convivia incesta miscerent: nec intelligebamus ab his fabulas istas semper ventilari, et nunquam vel investigari, vel probari, nec tanto tempore aliquem existere qui proderet, non tantum facti veniam, verum etiam indicii gratiam consecuturum. Malum autem adeo non esse, ut Christianus reus nec erubesceret, nec timeret, et unum solummodo, quod non ante fuerit, poeniteret. * * * * * * *

His enim et hujusmodi fabulis iidem daemones ad execrationis horrorem imperitorum aures adversus nos referserunt. Nec tamen mirum, cum omnium fama quae semper insparsis mendaciis alitur, ostensa veritate consumitur. Sic est negotium daemonum. Ab ipsis enim rumor falsus et seritur, et fovetur. Inde est quod audire te dicis caput asini rem nobis esse divinam. Quis tam stultus ut hoc colat? quis stultior ut hoc coli credat? nisi quod vos et totos asinos in

stabulis cum vestra Epona consecratis, et eosdem asinos cum Iside religiose devotatis: item boum capita, et capita vervecum, et immolatis, et colitis: de capro etiam et homine mixtos deos, et leonum et canum vultus deos dedicatis. Nonne et Apim bovem cum Ægyptiis adoratis et pascitis? nec eorum sacra damnatis instituta serpentibus, crocodilis, belluis ceteris, et avibus, et piscibus; quorum aliquem Deum si quis occiderit, etiam capite punitur. * * * * Etiam principibus et regibus, non ut magnis et electis viris, sicut fas est, sed ut deis turpiter adulatio falsa blanditur, cum et praeclaro viro honor verius, et optimo amor dulcius praebeatur. Sic eorum numen vocant, ad imagines supplicant, genium, id est, daemonem ejus, implorant, et est eis tutius per Jovis genium pejerare, quam regis.[1] Cruces etiam nec colimus, nec optamus. Vos plane qui ligneos deos consecratis, cruces ligneas, ut deorum vestrorum partes, forsitan adoratis. * * * * * * *

Convivia non tantum pudica colimus, sed et sobria. Nec enim indulgemus epulis, aut convivium mero ducimus, sed gravitate hilaritatem temperamus. Casto sermone, corpore castiore, plerique inviolati corporis virginitate perpetua fruuntur potius quam gloriantur. Tantum denique abest incesti cupido, ut non nullis rubori sit etiam pudica conjunctio. Nec de ultima statim plebe consistimus, si honores vestros et purpuras recusamus: nec fastidiosi sumus, si omnes unum [bonum] sapimus eadem congregati quiete, qua singuli: nec in angulis garruli, si audire nos publice aut erubescitis, aut timetis. Et quod in dies nostri numerus augetur, non est crimen erroris, sed testimonium laudis. Nam in pulchro genere vivendi et perstat et perseveret suus, et accrescit alienus. Sic nos denique non notaculo corporis[2],

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[1] *Tutius per Jovis genium pejerare.*—Those who sware falsely by the gods were not punished by the civil law; but if any one sware falsely by the emperor, he was scourged.

[2] *Notaculo corporis.*—To reconcile this with the fact related by several historians, as to some Christians, we may understand Min. Felix to disown any imposed custom of this sort. Some (as Heraldus and Davies) suppose in this disclaimer a reference to the Carpocratians,—a Gnostic sect. Irenæus, or his translator, mentions some badges—heathen, not Christian—as used by that sect, also their use of pictures and images. So Augustine.

ut putatis, sed innocentia ac modestiae signo facile dignoscimus. Sic mutuo, quod doletis, amore diligimus, quoniam odisse non novimus: sic nos, quod invidetis, fratres vocamus, ut unius Dei parentis homines, ut consortes fidei, ut spei coheredes. Vos enim nec invicem agnoscitis, et in mutua odia saevitis: nec fratres vos, nisi sane ad parricidium recognoscitis. Putatis autem nos occultare quod colimus, si delubra et aras non habemus? Quod enim simulacrum Deo fingam, cum si recte existimes, sit Dei homo ipse simulacrum? templum quod ei extruam, cum totus hic mundus, ejus opere fabricatus, eum capere non possit? et cum homo latius maneam, intra unum aediculam vim tantae majestatis includam? Nonne melius in nostra dedicandus est mente? in nostro imo consecrandus est pectore[1]? Hostias et victimas Domino offeram, quas in usum mei protulit, ut rejiciam ei suum munus? ingratum est: cum sit litabilis hostia, bonus animus, et pura mens, et sincera conscientia. Igitur qui innocentiam colit, Domino supplicat: qui justitiam, Deo libat: qui fraudibus abstinet, propitiat Deum: qui hominem periculo subripit, opimam victimam caedit. Haec nostra sacrificia, haec Dei sacra sunt. Sic apud nos religiosior est ille, qui justior. At enim quem colimus Deum, nec ostendimus, nec videmus. Immo ex hoc Deum credimus, quod eum sentire possumus, videre non possumus. In operibus enim ejus, et in mundi omnibus motibus virtutem ejus semper praesentem aspicimus, cum tonat, fulgurat, fulminat, cum serenat. Nec mireris si Deum non vides. Vento et flatibus omnia impelluntur, vibrantur, agitantur, et sub oculis tamen non venit ventus et flatus. In sole

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[1] *Pectore.*—Of course, it is not meant that places dedicated to Divine worship are unworthy of God. The privacy of Christian assemblies, for a time, was matter of necessity. They met in private houses, or at the cemeteries of the dead, or at the sequestered grove. A religion without a temple was an inexplicable problem to the pagan mind. Gradually the right to hold their meetings was recognised in the third century. Even Severus gave a certain liberty, recalled under Valerian, but renewed and extended under Gallienus.—(*Mosheim*, *Milman.*) Towards the end of the second century, buildings appear to have been devoted, here and there, exclusively to the worship of God.—*Gieseler.*

adeo, qui videndi omnibus causa est, videre non possumus: radiis acies submovetur, obtutus intuentis hebetatur: et si diutius inspicias, omnis visus extinguitur. Quid? ipsum artificem, illum luminis fontem possis sustinere, cum te ab ejus fulgoribus avertas, a fulminibus abscondas? Deum oculis carnalibus vis videre, cum ipsam animam qua vificaris et loqueris, nec aspicere possis, nec tenere? Sed enim Deus actum hominis ignorat: et in coelo constitutus non potest aut omnes obire aut singulos nosse. Erras o homo, et falleris. Unde enim Deus longe est, cum omnia caelestia, terrenaque, et quae extra istam orbis provinciam sunt, Deo cognita, plena sint? ubique non tantum nobis proximus, sed infusus est. * * * * * *

Sed Judaeis nihil profuit quod unum et ipsi Deum aris atque templis maxima superstitione, coluerunt. Ignorantia laberis, si priorum aut oblitus aut inscius, posterium recordoraris. Nam et ipsi, Deum nostrum, idem enim omnium Deus est, quandiu caste, innoxie, religioseque coluerunt, quandiu praecepitis salubribus obtemperaverunt, de paucis innumeri facti, de egentibus divites, de servientibus reges: modici multos, inermi armatos dum fugiunt insequentes, Dei jussu, et elementis adnitentibus oberueunt. Scripta eorum relege, vel si Romanis magis gaudes, ut transeamus veteres, Flavii Josephi, vel Antonii Juliani, de Judaeis require; jam scies nequitia sua hanc eos meruisse fortunam: nec quidquam accidisse, quod non sit his, si in contumacia perseverarent, ante praedictum. Ita prius eos deseruisse comprehendes, quam esse desertos: nec, ut impie loqueris, cum Deo suo captos, sed a Deo, ut disciplinae transfugas, deditos.

Ceterum de incendio mundi, aut improvisum ignem cadere, aut difficile, non credere, vulgaris erroris est. Quis enim sapientium dubitat, quis ignorat, omnia quae orta sunt occidere? quae facta sunt interire? Caelum quoque cum omnibus, quae caelo continentur, ita ut coepisse, desinere? Fontium dulces aquas marisve nutriri in vim ignis abiturum Stoicis constans opinio est: quod consumpto humore mundus hic omnis ignescat; et Epicuries de elementorum conflagratione

et mundi ruina eadem ipsa sententia est. Loquitur Plato partes orbis nunc inundare, nunc alternis vicibus ardescere, et cum ipsum mundum perpetuum, et insolubilem diceret esse fabricatum, addit tamen, ipsi artifici, Deo soli, et solubilem, et esse mortalem. Ita nihil mirum est, si ista moles ab eo, quo extructa est, destruatur. * * *
Porro difficilius est id, quod non sit, incipere, quam id quod fuerit iterare. Tu perire et Deo credis, si quid oculis nostris hebetibus subtrahitur? Corpus omne, sive arescit in pulverem, sive in humorem solvitur, vel in cinerem comprimitur, vel in nidorem tenuatur, subducitur nobis; sed Deo elementorum custodi reservatur. Nec, ut creditis, ullum damnum sepulturae timemus, sed veterem, et meliorem consuetudinem humandi frequentamus. Vide adeo quam in solatium nostri resurrectionem futuram omnis natura meditetur. Sol demergit, et nascitur; astra labuntur, et redeunt; flores occidunt, et reviviscunt: post senium arbusta frondescunt; semina non nisi corrupta revirescunt. Ita corpus in seculo, ut arbores in hiberno, occultant virorem ariditate mentita. Quid festinas ut cruda adhuc hieme reviviscat et redeat? expectandum nobis etiam corporis ver est. Nec ignoro plerosque conscientia meritorum nihil se esse post mortem magis optare, quam credere. Malunt enim extingui penitus, quam ad supplicia reparari. Quorum error augetur, et in seculo libertate remissa, et Dei patientia maxima, cujus quanto judicium tardum, tanto magis justum est. Et tamen admonentur homines doctissimorum libris, et carminibus poetarum; illius ignei fluminis, et de Stygia palude saepius ambientis ardoris, quae cruciatibus aeternis praeparata, et daemonum indiciis, et de oraculis prophetarum cognita tradiderunt. Et ideo apud eos etiam ipse rex Jupiter per torrentes ripas, et atram voraginem jurat religiose.[1] Destinatam enim sibi cum suis cultoribus paenam praescius perhorrescit. * * * * * *
Et quamquam imperitia Dei sufficiat ad poenam, ita ut noti-

[1] See Æn. VI., 323; Homer's Il., xv., 37.

tia prosit ad veniam; tamen si vobiscum Christiani compararemur, quamvis in nonnullis disciplina nostra minor est, multo tamen vobis meliores deprehendemur. Vos enim adulteria prohibetis, et facitis; nos uxoribus nostris solummodo viri nascimur. Vos scelera admissa punitis; apud nos et cogitare peccare est: vos conscios timetis; nos etiam conscientiam solam, sine qua esse non possumus. Denique de vestro numero carcer exaestuat: Christianus ibi nullus, nisi aut reus suae religionis, aut profugus.[1] Nec de fato quisquam aut solatium captet aut excuset; eventum sit sortis Fortunae, mens tamen libera est: et ideo actus hominis, non dignitas judicatur. * * * *

Ceterum, quod plerique pauperes dicimur, non est infamia nostra, sed gloria. Animus enim, ut luxu solvitur, ita frugalitate firmatur. Et tamen quis potest pauper esse, qui non eget? qui non inhiat alieno? qui Deo dives est? magis pauper ille est, qui cum multa habeat, plura desiderat. Dicam tandem quemadmodum sentio: nemo tam pauper potest esse, quam natus est. Aves sine patrimonio vivunt, et in diem pecua pascuntur: et haec nobis tamen nata sunt: quae omnia, si non concupiscimus, possidemus. Igitur ut qui viam terit eo felicior, quo levior incedit: ita beatior in hoc itinere vivendi, qui paupertate se sublevat, non sub divitiarum onere suspirat. Et tamen facultates, si utiles putaremus, a Deo posceremus. Utique indulgere posset aliquantum, cujus est totum. Sed nos contemnere malumus opes, quam continere. Innocentiam magis cupimus, magis patientiam flagitamus: malumus nos bonos esse, quam prodigos. Et quod corporis humana vitia sentimus et patimur, non est poena, militia est. Fortitudo enim infirmatibus roboratur, et calamitas saepius disciplina virtutis est: vires denique et mentis, et corporis sine laboris exercitatione torpescunt. Omnes adeo vestri viri fortes, quos in exemplum praedicatis, aerumnis suis inclyti floruerunt. Itaque et nobis Deus nec non

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[1] *Aut reus, aut profugus.*—Accused for his religion simply; or one that has abandoned it.

potest subvenire, nec despicit; cum sit et omnium rector, et amator suorum: sed in adversis unumquemque explorat et examinat; ingenium singulorum periculis pensitat; usque ad extremam mortem voluntatem hominis sciscitatur, nihil sibi posse perire securus. Itaque ut aurum ignibus, sic nos discriminibus arguimur. * * * * * Nec intelligitis, ô miseri, neminem esse, qui aut sine ratione velit poenam subire, aut tormenta sine Deo possit sustinere. Nisi forte vos decipit, quod deum nescientes divitiis afluant, honoribus floreant, polleant potestatibus. Miseri! in hoc altius tolluntur, ut decidant altius. Hi enim ut victimae ad supplicium saginantur, ut hostiae ad poenam coronantur. In hoc adeo quidam imperiis ac dominationibus eriguntur, ut ingenium eorum perditae mentes licentia potestatis libere nundinentur. Absque enim notitia Dei quae potest esse solida felicitas? cum mors sit. Somnio similis: Antequam tenetur, elabitur. Rex es? tam times, quam timeris. Et quamlibet sis multo comitatu stipatus, ad periculum tamen solus es. Dives es? sed fortunae male creditur, et magno viatico breve vanus error hominis et inanus cultus dignitatis, fulgere purpura, mente sordescere. Nobilitate generosus es? parentes tuos laudas? omnes tamen pari sorte nascimur, sola virtute distinguimur. Nos igitur qui moribus et pudore censemur, merito malis voluptatibus et pompis vestris et spectaculis abstinemus, quorum et de sacris originem novimus, et noxia blandimenta damnamus. Nam in ludis Corulibus quis non horreat populi in se rixantis insaniam? In gladiatoriis, homicidii disciplinam? in scenicis etiam non minor furor; turpitudo prolixior. Nunc enim mimus vel exponit adulteria: vel monstrat. Nunc enervis histrio amorem, dum fingit, infligit. Idem deos vestros, induendo stupra, suspiria, odia, dedecorat. Idem, simulatis doloribus, lacrymas vestras vanis gestibus et nutibus provocat. Sic homicidium in vero flagitatis, in mend:cio fletis. Quod vero sacrificiorum reliquias, et pocula delibata contemnimus: non confessio timoris est, sed verae libertatis assertio. Nam etsi omne quod nascitur, ut inviolabile Dei munus, nullo opere corrumpitur;

abstinemus tamen, ne quis existimet aut daemoniis, quibus libatum est, cedere, aut nostrae religionis pudere. Quis autem ille, qui dubitat vernis indulgere nos floribus, cum capiamus et rosam veris, et lilium, et quidquid aliud in floribus blandi coloris et odoris est? his enim et sparsis utimur mollibus ac solutis, et sertis colla complectimur. Sane quod caput non coronamus, ignoscite. Auram boni floris naribus ducere, non occipitio capillisve solemus haurire. Nec mortuos coronamus. Ego vos in hoc magis miror, quemadmodum tribuatis aut sentienti facem, aut non sentienti coronam: cum et beatus non egeat, et miser non gaudeat floribus. At enim nos exequias odornamus eadem tranquillitate qua vivimus, nec adnectimus arescentem coronam, sed a Deo aeternis floribus vividam sustinemus, quieti, modesti Dei nostri liberalitate, securi spe futurae felicitatis, fide praesentis ejus majestatis animamur. Sic et beati resurgimus, et futuri contemplatione jam vivimus. * * * *
Caecilius sic erupit: Ego Octavio meo plurimum quantum, sed et mihi, gratulor; nec expecto sententiam. Vicimus, et ita, ut improbus, usurpo victoriam: nam ut ille mei victor est, ita ego triumphator erroris. Itaque quod pertineat ad summam quaestionis, et de providentia fateor, et Deo cedo, et de sectae jam nostrae sinceritate consentio.

III. CYPRIAN.

Cyprian, like Tertullian, was of North Africa, a Presbyter of Carthage, afterwards Bishop. He previously practised as a rhetorician ; and his style is an easy and flowing Latinity. Augustine said of him " instar fontis purissimi levis incessit et placidus."

It was somewhat late in life that he embraced christianity ; and like Basil and Chrysostom in the east, he needed, instead of courting offices, almost to be forced to accept them. His works consist chiefly of letters addressed to other Bishops, or Presbyters, and directing the churches on difficult questions of fellowship and discipline. Often the questions concerned the treatment of the lapsed, and the re-baptizing of heretics. On both questions, Cyprian, though not of the rigidity of Novatian, inclined to the stricter policy. The persecutions in the time of Severus and especially Decius, fell very severely on the churches in the African provinces, and while many beautiful instances of Christian fortitude occurred there, some failed in courage. Cyprian directs to caution in the readmission of such, though he acquiesced in the decision of a council of Carthage which treated them with forbearing consideration. Baptism by heretical hands he would not acknowledge.

In Cyprian's time the hierarchy is generally considered as fully developed. He acknowledges the " Cathedra Petri ;" and the Bishop, whom Ireneus at times identifies with the Presbyter, now stands out a distinct functionary. Yet Cyprian is justly quoted in proof of the fact, that no absolute precedence, beyond that of order, was conceded even yet to Rome. His controversy with Stephen was like the protest of Irenæus against Victor. It is manifest also, from his letters, that his idea of the " Bishop," was mainly that of primus inter pares ; and no one asserts more distinctly the rights of the christian people.

Cyprian, though sometimes apparently yielding to the storm, and leaving his immediate charge, evinced, when the hour for facing danger came, the unshrinking fortitude of a Christian confessor. He suffered martyrdom in the reign of Valerian.

EX CYPRIANI EPISTOLIS.

(EP. XXXIII.)—AD CLERUM ET PLEBEM DE AURELIO LECTORE ORDINATO.

Cyprianus presbyteris et diaconibus et plebi universae salutem. In ordinationibus clericis, fratres carissimi, solemus vos ante consulere[1] et mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare. Sed expectanda non sunt testimonia humana cum praecedunt divina suffragia. Aurelius frater noster, illustris adolescens, a Domino jam probatus et Deo carus, in annis adhuc novellus, sed in virtutis ac fidei laude provectus, minor in aetatis suae indole, sed major in honore, gemino hic agone certavit, bis confessus, et bis confessionis suae victoria gloriosus, et quando vicit in cursu factus extorris, et cum denuo certamine fortiore pugnavit, triumphator et victor in praelio passionis. Quoties adversarius provocare servos Dei voluit, toties promptissimus ac fortissimus miles et pugnavit et vicit. Parum fuerat sub oculis ante paucorum, quando extorris fiebat, congressum fuisse; meruit et in foro congredi clariore virtute, ut post magistratus etiam proconsulem vinceret, et post exilium tormenta superaret. Nec invenio quid in eo praedicare plus debeam, gloriam vulnerum, an verecundiam morum, quod honore virtutis insignis est, an quod pudoris admiratione laudabilis? Ita et dignitate excelsus est et humilitate submissus ut appareat illum divinitus reservatum qui ad

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[1] *Consulere.*—Often Cyprian uses such words as consulere presbyterium, consilio communi res tractare, &c. In appointing bishops and in important matters of discipline (as the re-admittance of the lapsed,) the consent of the people was usually sought. Cyprian says, in another epistle, (5): "Quando a primordio episcopatus mei statuerim, nihil sine consilio vestro"—meaning the presbyters and deacons—"et sine consensu plebis gerere." That the same principles prevailed at Rome appears clear, from Epistles to Cyprian from parties in that city.

ecclesiasticam disciplinam caeteris esset exemplo, quomodo servi Dei in confessione virtutibus vincerent, post confessionem moribus eminerent. * * * * *

Vos orationibus frequenter insistite, et preces nostras vestris precibus adjuvate, ut Domini misericordia favens nobis cito plebi suae et sacerdotem reddat incolumem et martyrem cum sacerdote lectorem.[1] Opto vos, fratres carissimi, in Deo patre et Christo Jesu semper bene valere.

(LIII.)—AD FORTUNATUM ET ALIOS COLLEGAS DE IIS QUI PER TORMENTA SUPERANTUR.

Cyprianus Fortunato, Ahymmo, Optato, Privatiano, Donatulo, et Felici fratribus salutem. Scripsistis mihi, fratres carissimi, quod cum in Capsensi civitate propter ordinationem episcopi essetis, pertulerit ad vos Superius frater et collega noster Ninum, Clementianum, Florum fratres nostros, qui in persecutione apprehensi prius fuerant, et nomen Domini confessi violentiam magistratus et populi frementis impetum vicerant, postmodum cum apud proconsulem poenis gravibus excruciarentur, vi tormentorum subactos esse et de gradu gloriae, ad quam plena fidei virtute tendebant, diutinis cruciatibus excidisse, nec tamen post hunc gravem lapsum non voluntate sed necessitate susceptum a poenitentia agenda per hoc triennium destitisse. De quibus consulendum putastis an eos ad communicationem jam fas esset admittere. Et quidem quod ad mei animi sententiam pertinet, puto his indulgentiam Domini non defuturam quos constat stetisse in acie, nomen Domini confessos esse, violentiam magistratuum et populi furentis incursum immobilis fidei obstinatione vicisse, passos esse carcerem, diu inter minas proconsulis et fremitum populi circumstantis tormentis laniantibus ac longa iteratione cruciantibus repugnasse ; ut

[1] *Lectorem.*—Though only to the post of reader, Cyprian explains carefully his ordaining Aurelian without waiting for the common suffrage. The "reader" of the Gospels in their public assemblies is mentioned also by Tertullian. The regulations in the churches varied ; there were early in Rome under the presbyters and deacons, sub-deacons, acoluthi, exorcists, readers, and ostiarii.—*Gieseler, vol. I.*

quod in novissimo[1] infirmitate carnis subactum videtur, meritorum praecedentium defensione relevetur, et sit satis talibus gloriam perdidisse, non tamen debere nos eis et veniae locum claudere, atque eos a paterna pietate et a nostra communicatione privare; quibus existimamus ad deprecandam clementiam Domini posse sufficere quod triennio jugiter ac dolenter,[2] ut scribitis, cum summa poenitentiae lamentatione planxerunt. Certe non puto incaute et temere his pacem committi quos videmus militiae suae fortitudine nec prius pugnae defuisse, et si acies etiam denuo venerit, gloriam suam posse reparare. Nam cum in concilio placuerit, poenitentiam agentibus in infirmitatis periculo subveniri et pacem dari,[3] debent utique in accipienda pace praecedere quos videmus non animi vulneratos infirmitate cecidisse, sed in praelio congressos et per imbecillitatem carnis confessionis suae coronam non potuisse perferre; maxime cum cupientibus mori non permitterentur occidi, sed tamdiu fessos tormenta laniarent quandiu non fidem, quae invicta est, vincerent, sed carnem, quae infirma est, fatigarent. * * * Opto vos, fratres carissimi, semper bene valere.

(LIX.)—AD FIDUM DE INFANTIBUS BAPTIZANDIS.

Cyprianus et caeteri collegae qai in concilio affuerunt numero LXVI:[4] Fido fratri salutem. Legimus literas tuas, frater carissime, quibus significasti de Victore quondam presbytero, quod ei, antequam poenitentiam plenam egisset,

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[1] *Novissimo.*—Meaning here the same as *postea.*

[2] During and after the Decian persecution, the lapsed, who had yielded from timidity and compromised their confession, were treated with no small rigour by some of the African churches. Not only were years of exclusion from communion appointed to them, but there was no re-admission till death even to penitents: some relaxed in favour of the dying. Montanus, and Tertullian, and Novatian, had very rigorous views on this. Cyprian in one letter indignantly expatiates on the harshness of Novatian.—See Mosheim, Milner, or Neander, for particulars as to the libellatici, and the respect paid to the recommendation of the martyrs in the readmission of the lapsed.

[3] *Dare pacem* was the expression for receiving again into fellowship.

[4] A Council at Carthage, held in 253, at which Cyprian presided.

et Domino Deo, in quem deliquerat, satisfecisset, Therapius[1] collega noster immaturo tempore et praepropera festinatione pacem dederit. Quae res nos satis movit, recessum esse a decreti nostri auctoritate, ut ante legitimum et plenum tempus satisfactionis, et sine petitu et conscientia plebis, nulla infirmitate urgente ac necessitate cogente, pax ei concederetur. Sed librato apud nos diu consilio, satis fuit objurgare Therapium collegam nostrum quod temere hoc fecerit et instruxisse ne quid tale de caetero faciat. Pacem tamen quomodocunque a sacerdote Dei semel datam non putavimus auferendam, ac per hoc Victori communicationem sibi concessam usurpare permisimus. Quantum vero ad causam infantium pertinet, quos dixisti intra secundum vel tertium diem quo nati sint constitutos baptizari non oportere, et considerandam esse legem circumcisionis antiquae, ut intra octavum diem eum qui natus est baptizandum et sanctificandum non putares, longe aliud in concilio nostro omnibus visum est. In hoc enim quod tu putabas esse faciendum nemo consensit, sed universi potius judicavimus nulli homini nato misericordiam Dei et gratiam denegandam. Nam cum Dominus in evangelio suo dicat, *Filius hominis non venit animas hominum perdere, sed salvare*, quantum in nobis est, si fieri potest, nulla anima perdenda est. Quid enim ei deest qui semel in utero Dei manibus formatus est? Nobis enim atque oculis nostris secundum dierum saecularium cursum accipere qui nati sunt incrementum videntur. Caeterum quaecunque a Deo fiunt, Dei factoris majestate et opere perfecta sunt. Esse denique apud omnes, sive infantes, sive majores natu, unam divini muneris aequalitatem declarat nobis divinae scripturae fides.[2] * * * * *

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[1] *Therapius.*—Therapius sat as a Bishop in the council of Carthage. Fidus, some call a Presbyter, and some a Bishop, probably resident near Therapius.

[2] *Divinae scripturae fides.*—This epistle is often quoted in the discussions concerning baptism, and the practice of the early church At same time, one can see in the language of Cyprian, as well as Augustine, that extravagant ideas prevailed of the absolute necessity of baptism to salvation. Hence, too, the giving the Lord's Supper to infants.

(LX.)—AD EPISCOPOS NUMIDAS DE REDEMPTIONE FRATRUM EX CAPTIVITATE BARBARORUM.

Cyprianus Januario, Maximo, Proculo, Victori, Modiano, Nemesiano, Nampulo, et Honorato fratribus salutem. Cum maximo animi nostri gemitu et non sine lacrymis legimus litteras vestras, fratres carissimi, quas ad nos pro dilectionis vestrae sollicitudine de fratrum nostrum et sororum captivitate fecistis. Quis enim non doleat in ejusmodi casibus, aut quis non dolorem fratris sui suum proprium computet, cum loquatur apostolus Paulus et dicat: *Si patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur et caetera membra: si laetatur membrum unum, collactantur et cetera membra.* Et alio loco: *Quis infirmatur*, inquit, *et non ego infirmor?* Quare nunc et nobis captivitas fratrum nostra captivitas computanda est, et periclitantium dolor pro nostro dolore numerandus est, cum sit scilicet adunationis nostrae corpus unum, et non tantum dilectio sed et religio instigare nos debeat et comfortare ad fratrum membra redimenda. Nam cum denuo apostolus Paulus dicat, *Nescitis quia templum Dei estis, et spiritus Dei habitat in vobis*, etiamsi caritas nos minus adigeret ad opem fratribus ferendam, considerandum tamen hoc in loco fuit Dei templa esse quae capta sunt, nec pati nos longa cessatione et neglecto dolore debere ut diu Dei templa captiva sint, sed quibus possumus viribus elaborare et velocitur gerere ut Christum judicem et Dominum et Deum nostrum promereamur obsequiis nostris. Nam cum dicat Paulus apostolus, *Quotquot in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis*, in captivis fratribus nostris contemplandus est Christus et redimendus de periculo captivitatis, qui nos redemit de periculo mortis; ut qui nos de diaboli faucibus exuit, nunc ipse qui manet et habitat in nobis de barbarorum manibus exuatur, et redimatur nummaria quantitate qui nos cruce redemit et sanguine; qui idcirco haec fieri interim patitur ut fides nostra tentetur an faciat unusquisque pro altero quod pro se fieri vellet, si apud barbaros teneretur ipse captivus. * * * * *

Nam cum Dominus in evangelio suo dicat, *Infirmus fui, et*

visitastis me, quanto nunc quoque cum majore operis nostri mercede dicturus est: *Captivus fui, et redemistis me.* Et cum denuo dicat, *In carcere fui, et venistis ad me*, quanto plus est cum coeperit dicere, *In carcere captivitatis fui, et clausus et vinctus apud barbaros jacui, et de carcere illo servitutis liberastis me*, cum judicii dies venerit praemium de Domino recepturi? Denique maximas vobis gratias agimus quod nos vestrae sollicitudinis et tam bonae ac necessariae operationis participes esse voluistis, ut offerretis nobis agros uberes, in quibus spei nostrae semina mitteremus, expectaturi messem de amplissimis fructibus qui de hac caelesti et salutari operatione proveniunt. Misimus autem sestertia centum[1] millia nummorum, quae istic in ecclesia cui de Domini indulgentia praesumus cleri et plebis apud nos consistentis collatione collecta sunt, quae vos illic pro vestra diligentia dispensabitis.[2] * * * *

(LXXI.)—AD QUINTUM DE HAERETICIS BAPTIZANDIS.

Cyprianus Quinto fratri salutem. Retulit ad me, frater carissime, Lucianus compresbyter noster te desiderasse ut significaremus tibi quid sentiamus de his qui apud haereticos et schismaticos baptizati videntur. De qua re quid nuper in concilio plurimi coepiscopi cum compresbyteris qui aderant censuerimus ut scires, ejusdem epistolae exemplum tibi misi. Nescio etenim qua praesumptione ducuntur quidam de collegis nostris ut putent eos quid apud haereticos tincti sunt, quando ad nos venerint, baptizari non oportere, eo quod dicant unum baptisma esse: quod unum scilicet ideo est, quia ecclesia una est, et esse baptisma extra ecclesiam non potest. * * * * *
Et dicunt se in hoc veterem consuetudinem sequi, quando apud veteres haereseos et schismatum prima adhuc fuerint

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[1] *Sestertia centum, &c.*—This sum amounted to near £1000 sterling.

[2] The care for those Numidian christians carried off by neighbouring barbarians into captivity is a fine exemplification of the liberal charity of the early church. Cyprian in other places also evinces earnest care of the poor.

initia, ut hi illic essent qui de ecclesia recedebant, et hic baptizati prius fuerant; quos tunc tamen ad ecclesiam revertentes et poenitentiam agentes necesse non erat baptizare. Quod nos quoque hodie observamus, ut quos constet hic baptizatos esse et a nobis ad haereticos transisse, si postmodum peccato suo cognito et errore digesto ad veritatem et matricem redeant, satis sit in poenitentiam manum imponere; ut quia ovis jam fuerat, hanc ovem abalienatam et errabundam in ovile suum pastor recipiat. Si autem qui ab haereticis venit baptizatus in ecclesia prius non fuit, sed alienus in totum et prophanus venit, baptizandus est ut ovis fiat, quia una est aqua in ecclesia sancta quae oves faciat. Et idcirco quia nihil potest esse commune mendacio et veritati, tenebris et luci, morti et immortalitati, antichristo et Christo, per omnia debemus ecclesiae catholicae unitatem tenere nec in aliquo fidei et veritatis hostibus cedere.[1] * * Quorum sententiam et religiosam et legitimam et salutarem, fidei et ecclesiae catholicae congruentem, nos etiam secuti sumus. Et quales super hac re litteras fecerimus ut scires, exemplum earum ad notitiam tam tuam quam coepiscoporum nostrorum qui illic sunt pro communi dilectione transmisimus. Opto te, frater carissime, semper bene valere.

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[1] This question was the subject of Cyprian's controversy with Stephen of Rome. Cyprian had extravagant ideas of the unity and of episcopal authority; yet he was a man of fine, tender, christian feeling. Milner is large in his eulogy; and Augustine said, "Non me terret auctoritas Cypriani, quia reficit humilitas Cypriani."

Neither Jerome nor Augustine followed him on this question of rebaptizing.

IV. LACTANTIUS.

Lactantius, called Firmianus, after his native town Firmii, in Italy, obtained the surname Lactantius—it is said—"a lactea dicendi facultate." Unless we are to except M. Felix, he was of all the Latin fathers the most eloquent. Lactantius had studied rhetoric under Arnobius, himself one of the apologists, —having written several works against the Gentile superstitions; and became famous as a rhetorician beyond his master. He became, like him, also a convert to Christianity, and a pleader of its cause. He wrote in the times of Dioclesian and of Constantine, an extensive work called Divine Institutions, addressing it to the latter Emperor. In this work he treats of the false religions and the true, under the names of the False and True Wisdom; also of true morality and the divine worship; reviews the various systems of philosophy, and exposes their defects as compared with divine revelation. In another small treatise he remarks the divine dispensation in the deaths of the persecutors. We give an impressive extract from his work on Wisdom. Lactantius held extravagant Millenarian opinions; and, as a Theologian, lacks the precision of the Nicene Divines: writing beautifully, though not very accurately, of the Logos. It was thought of him that he knew better how to destroy error than to build up the system of truth. Hence the saying: "Instruit ut Hieronymus, destruit ut Lactantius, adstruit ut Augustinus."

LACTANTII, DE FALSA SAPIENTIA.

Lib. III. 25. Nunc pauca nobis de philosophia in commune dicenda sunt, ut confirmata causa peroremus. Summus ille noster Platonis imitator[1] existimavit philosophiam non esse vulgarem; quod eam non nisi docti homines adsequi possint. *Est*, inquit, *philosophia paucis contenta judicibus, multitudinem consultò ipsa fugiens.*[2] Non est ergo sapientia, si ab hominum coetu abhorret, quoniam si sapientia homini data est, sine ullo discrimine omnibus data est, ut nemo sit prorsus, qui eam capere non possit. At illi virtutem humano generi datam sic amplexantur, ut soli omnium publica bono frui velle videantur, tam invidi, quam si velint deligare oculos, aut effodere ceteris, ne solem videant. Nam quid est aliud hominibus negare sapientiam, quam mentibus eorum verum ac divinum lumen auferre? Quod si natura hominis sapientiae capax est; oportuit et opifices, et rusticos, et mulieres, et omnes denique, qui humanam formam gerunt, doceri, ut sapiant; populumque ex omni lingua, et conditione, et sexu, et aetate conflari. Maximum itaque argumentum est, philosophiam neque ad sapientiam tendere, neque ipsam esse sapientiam; quod mysterium ejus barba tantum celebratur et pallio.[3] Senserunt hoc adeo Stoici, qui et servis, et mulieribus philosophandum esse dixerunt: Epicurus quoque, qui rudes omnium litterarum ad philosophiam invitat: item Plato, qui civitatem de sapientibus voluit componere. Conati quidem illi sunt facere, quod veritas exigebat; sed non potuit ultra verba procedi; primum, quia multis artibus opus est, ut ad philosophiam possit accedi: discendae istae communes litterae, propter usum legendi; quia in tanta rerum varietate, nec disci audiendo possunt omnia, nec memoria contineri. Gram-

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[1] *Platonis imitator*—meaning Cicero. [2] *Fugiens.*—Tusc. Quest. II.
[3] *Barba et pallio.*—This was the dress of the philosophers.

maticis quoque non parum operae dandum est, ut rectam loquendi rationem scias: id multos annos auferat necesse est. Nec oratoria quidem ignoranda est, ut ea, quae didiceris, proferre atque eloqui possis. Geometria quoque, ac musica, et astrologia necessaria est; quod hac artes cum philosophia habent aliquam societatem; quae universa perdiscere neque feminae possunt, quibus intra puberes annos officia mox usibus domesticis profutura discenda sunt, neque servi, quibus per eos annos vel maximo serviendum est, quibus possent discere; neque pauperes, aut opifices, aut rustici, quibus in diem victus labore est quaerendus. Ob eam causam Tullius ait, abhorrere a multitudine philosophiam. At enim rudes Epicurus accipiet: quomodo ergo illa, quae de principiis rerum dicuntur, intelligent? quae perplexa, et involuta, vix etiam politi homines adsequuntur. In rebus igitur obscuritate implicatis, et ingeniorum varietate confusis, et eloquentium virorum exquisito sermone fucatis, quis imperito, ac rudi locus est? Denique nullas unquam mulieres philosophari docuerunt, praeter vnam ex omni memoria Themisten;[1] neque seruos, praeter vnum Phaedonem,[2] quem male servientem redemisse ac docuisse Cebetem tradunt. Enumerant etiam Platonem, ac Diogenem, qui tamen servi non fuerunt, sed his seruitus evenerat: sunt enim capti. Platonem quidem redemisse Anniceris quidam traditur IIS VIII[3] itaque insectatus est conviciis hunc ipsum redemptorem Seneca, quod parvo Platonem aestimaverit. Furiosus, ut mihi quidem videtur, qui homini fuerit iratus, quod non multam pecuniam perdidit. Scilicet aurum appendere debuit, tamquam pro mortuo Hectore;[4] aut tantum ingerere nummorum, quantum venditor non poposcit. Ex

[1] *Themisten.*—Putat fortasse Leontii conjugem, ad quam Epicurus scripsisse legitur.—*Le Brun.*

[2] *Phaedonem.*—Ransomed by Cebes, a philosopher, and befriended by Socrates and Plato.

[3] *IIS VIII., i.e., Sestertiis Octo.*—Plato is said to have been sold into slavery by the tyrant Dionysius, offended by his reproofs; but ransomed and sent back to Athens by Anniceris, of Cyrene.—(So *Diog. Lae.*)

[4] Hom. Il., XXIV. 76.

Barbaris vero nullum, praeter vnum Anacharsim Scytham: qui philosophiam ne somniasset quidem, nisi et linguam, et (*Graecas*) literas ante didicisset.

26. Quod ergo illi poscente naturá faciendum esse senserunt; sed tamen neque ipsi facere potuerunt; neque a philosophis fieri posse viderunt: sola hoc efficit doctrina caelestis, quia sola sapientia est. Illi scilicet persuadere cuiquam potuerunt; qui nihil persuadent etiam sibi, aut cujusquam cupiditates oppriment, iram temperabunt, libidinem coercebunt: quum ipsi et cedant vitiis; et fateantur, plus valere naturam? Dei autem praecepta, quia et simplicia, et vera sunt, quantum valeant in animis hominum, quotidiana experimenta demonstrant. Da mihi virum, qui sit iracundus, maledicus, effrenatus: paucissimis Dei verbis tam placidum, quam ovem, reddam. Da cupidum, avarum, tenacem: jam tibi eum liberalem dabo, et pecuniam suam plenis manibus largientem. Da timidum doloris ac mortis: jam cruces, et ignes, et Phalaridis taurum contemnet. Da libidinosum, adulterum, ganeonem: jam sobrium, castum, continentem videbis. Da crudelem, et sanguinis adpetentem; jam in veram clementiam furor ille mutabitur. Da injustum, insipientem, peccatorem: continuo et aequus, et prudens, et nnocens erit: uno enim lavacro malitia omnis abolebitur. Tanta divinae sapientiae vis est, ut, in hominis pectus infusa, matrem delictorum stultitiam uno semel impetu expellat: ad quod efficiendum, non mercede, non libris, non lucubrationi bus opus est. Gratis ista fiunt, facile, cito; modo pateant aures, et pectus sapientiam sitiat. Nemo vereatur, nos aquam[1] non vendimus; nec solem mercede praestamus. Dei fons uberrimus atque plenissimus patet cunctis; et hoc caeleste lumen universis oritur, quicumque oculos habent. Num quis haec philosophorum aut umquam praestitit, aut praestare, si velit, potest? qui quum aetates suas in studio philosophiae conterant; neque alium quemquam, neque

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[1] *Aquam—solem.*—The water of baptism, and the light of trnth, not made a traffic of, as if said: Let none fear—the poor are not repelled.

seipsos, si natura paululum obstitit, possunt facere meliores. Itaque sapientia eorum, ut plurimum efficiat, non exscindit vitia, sed abscondit. Pauca vero Dei praecepta sic totum hominem immutant, et, exposito vetere, novum reddunt, ut nòn cognoscas, eumdem esse.

27. Quid ergo? nihil ne illi similè praecipiunt? immo permulta, et ad verum frequenter accedunt: sed nihil ponderis habent illa praecepta, quia sunt humana, et auctoritate majori, id est divina illa, carent. Nemo igitur credit, quia tam se hominem putat esse, qui audit, quam est ille, qui praecipit. Praeterea nihil apud eos certi est, nihil quod a scientia veniat: sed quum omnia conjecturis agantur; multa etiam diversa et varia proferantur; stultisimi est hominis, praeceptis eorum velle parere: quae utrum vera sint, an falsa, dubitatur; et ideo nemo paret, quia nemo vult ad incertum laborare. Virtutem esse, Stoici aiunt, quae sola efficiat vitam beatam. Nihil potest verius dici. Sed quid, si cruciabitur, aut dolore adficietur? poteritne quisquam inter carnifices beatus esse? immo vero illatus corpori dolor materia virtutis est: itaque ne in tormentis quidem miser est. Epicurus multo fortius, *Sapiens*, inquit, *semper beatus est; et vel inclusus in Phalaridis tauro hanc vocem emittet: Suave est, et nihil curo.* Quis eum non irriserit, maxime, quod homo voluptarius personam sibi viri fortis imposuit, et quidem supra modum? non enim fieri potest, ut quisquam cruciatus corporis pro voluptatibus ducat; quum satis sit, ad officium virtutis implendum perferre ac sustinere. Quid dicitis Stoici? quid tu Epicure? Beatus est sapiens, etiam quum torquetur. Si propter gloriam, patientiae praemio non fruetur; in tormentis enim fortasse morietur: si propter memoriam; aut non sentiet, si occidunt animae: aut si sentiet, nihil ex ea consequetur. Quis ergo alius fructus est in virtute? quae beatitudo vitae? ut aequo animo moriatur? Bonum mihi adfertis unius horae, aut fortasse momenti, propter quod non expediat in tota vita miseriis et laboribus confici. Quantum autem temporis mors occupat? quae quum veniat, utrum aequo an iniquo animo eam subieris, jam nihil

refert. Ita fit, ut nihil aliud ex virtute captetur, nisi gloria. Sed haec aut supervacua, et brevis est, aut pravis hominum judiciis non sequetur. Nullus igitur ex virtute fructus est, ubi virtus mortalis est et caduca. Itaque qui haec locuti sunt, umbram quamdam virtutis viderunt, ipsam virtutem non viderunt: defixi enim fuerunt in terram; nec vultus suos in altum erigebant, vt eam possent intueri, quae sese *a caeli regionibus ostendebat.* Haec causa est, cur praeceptis eorum nullus obtemperet, quoniam aut ad vitia erudiunt, si voluptatem defendunt: aut si virtutem asserunt, neque peccato poenam minantur, nisi solius turpitudinis; neque virtuti ullum praemium pollicentur, nisi solius honestatis et laudis; quum dicant, non propter aliud, sed propter seipsam expetendam esse virtutem. Beatus est igitur sapiens in tormentis: sed quum torquetur pro fide, pro justitia, pro Deo; illa patientia doloris beatisimum faciet. Est enim Deus, qui solus potest honorare virtutem, cujus merces immortalitas sola est; quam qui non adpetunt, nec religionem tenent, cui aeterna subjacet vita, profecto neque virtutis vim sciunt, cujus praemium ignorant; neque in caelum spectant, quod psi se facere putant, quum res non investigabiles[1] quaerunt; iquia ratio in caelum spectandi nulla alia est, nisi aut religionem suscipere, aut animam suam immortalem esse credere. Quisquis enim aut Deum colendum esse intelligit, aut immortalitatis spem sibi propositam habet; mens ejus in caelo est: et licet id non adspiciat oculis; animae tamen lumine adspicit. Qui autem Religionem non suscipiunt, terreni sunt, quia religio de caelo est: et qui animam putant cum corpore interire, aeque in terram spectant, quia ultra corpus, quod est terra, nihil amplius vident, quod sit immortale. Nihil igitur prodest, hominem ita esse fictum, ut recto corpore spectet in caelum, nisi erecta mente Deum cernat, ut cogitatio ejus in spe vitae perpetuae tota versetur.

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[1] Another reading, *non vestigabiles.*

V. JEROME.

Hieronymus (or Jerome) was in learning among the Latins what Origen was among the Greeks. He was brought up at Rome, and flourished in the end of the fourth century, living on to the year 416. He began and closed his career as a monk of Palestine. Unambitious of preferment, he travelled in the West and East in search of knowledge, and gave himself finally to seclusion in his chosen home at Bethlehem. There he composed most of the works which have come down to us. His greatest labour was in the correction of the old Italic translation of the Holy Scriptures, issuing in the establishment of a recognised Latin version. He wrote numerous letters, which have been preserved, and also valuable commentaries on the sacred books. His prologues to these books are often referred to in questions concerning the Canon. With so much care did he distinguish between the inspired or canonical scriptures, and all apocryphal writings, that it became a sort of proverb, "Has it passed the file of Jerome?" The testimony of the same father is also very decided, and held to be of great authority, on questions of early church government; more especially on the identity of Presbyter and Bishop, or the history of the distinction.

HIERONYMI EVAGRIO.[1]

EPISTOLA LXXXV.

Legimus in Esaia: *Fatuus fatua loquetur.* Audio, quendam in tantam erupisse vecordiam, ut diaconos presbyteris, id est, Episcopis anteferret. Nam cum Apostolus perspicue doceat, eosdem esse presbyteros, quos Episcopos: quid patitur[2] mensarum et viduarum minister, ut supra eos se tumidus efferat, ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur? Quaeris auctoritatem? Audi testimonium. *Paulus et Timotheus servi Christi Iesu, omnibus sanctis in Christo Iesu, qui sunt Philippis, cum episcopis et diaconis.* Vis et aliud exemplum? In Actibus Apostolorum, ad unius Ecclesiae sacerdotes ita Paulus loquitur: *Attendite vobis et cuncto gregi, in quo vos Spiritus sanctus posuit Episcopos, ut regeretis Ecclesiam Domini, quam acquisivit sanguine suo.* Ac ne quis contentiosè in una ecclesia plures episcopos fuisse contendat, audi et aliud testimonium, in quo manifestissimè comprobatur, eundem esse Episcopum atque presbyterum. *Propter hoc reliqui te in Creta, ut, quae deerant, corrigeres, et constitueres presbyteros per civitates, sicut et ego tibi mandavi: Si quis est sine crimine, unius uxoris vir, filios habens fideles, non in accu-*

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[1] Evagrius is mentioned by Augustine as a member of the Council of Carthage. The immediate design of this letter was to refute the error of those who made the deacon equal to the presbyter. The letter is often referred to by later writers, on questions of church order: (Calvin, Whitgift and Cartwright, Hooker and Grotius.) A certain difference of power between the bishop and presbyter is recognised by Jerome, as having been reckoned necessary to prevent dissensions. In his commentary on Titus, ch. i., he says: "Haec propterea, ut ostenderemus apud veteres eosdem fuisse Presbyteros quos et Episcopos; paulatim vero ut dissensionum plantaria evellerentur, ad unum omnem solicitudinem esse delatam. Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt se ex ecclesiae consuetudine ei qui sibi praepositus fuerit esse subjectos, ita episcopi noverint se, magis consuetudine quam dispositionis dominicae veritate, presbyteris esse majores, et in commune debere ecclesiam regere, imitantes Moysen, qui cum haberet in potestate solus præesse populo Israel, septuaginta elegit cum quibus populum judicaret."

[2] *Quid patitur.*—Another reading is, *Quis patiatur.*

satione luxuriae, aut non subditos. Oportet enim Episcopum sine crimine esse, quasi Dei dispensatorem. Et ad Timotheum: *Noli negligere gratiam quae in te est, quae tibi data est prophetiae per impositionem manuum presbyterii.* Sed et Petrus in prima epistola: *Presbyteros*, inquit, *in vobis precor compresbyter, et testis passionum Christi, et futurae gloriae, quae revelanda est, particeps, regere gregem Christi, et inspicere non ex necessitate, sed voluntarie juxta Deum.* Quod quidem Graece significantius dicitur ἐπισκοποῦντες, id est, superintendentes: unde et nomen Episcopi tractum est. Parva tibi videntur tantorum virorum testimonia? Clangat tuba evangelica, filius tonitrui, quem Jesus amavit plurimum: qui de pectore salvatoris doctrinarum fluenta potavit: *Presbyter, electae Dominae et filiis ejus, quos ego diligo in veritate.* Et in alia epistola: *Presbyter, Caio carissimo, quem ego diligo in veritate.* Quod autem postea unus electus est, qui caeteris praeponeretur, in schismatis remedium factum est: ne unusquisque ad se trahens Christi ecclesiam rumperet. Nam et Alexandriae à Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium Episcopos, praesbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant: quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat, aut diaconi eligant de se, quem industrium noverint, et archidiaconum vocent. Quid enim facit excepta ordinatione episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat? Nec altera Romanae urbis Ecclesia, altera totius orbis existisimanda est. Et Galliae et Britanniae et Africa et Persis et Oriens et India et omnes barbarae nationes unum Christum adorant, unam observant regulam veritatis. Si auctoritas quaeritur, orbis major est urbe. Ubicunque fuerit Episcopus, sive Romae sive Eugubii,[1] sive Constantinopoli sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriae, sive Tanis: ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et sacerdotii. *Potentia*

[1] *Eugubium.*—A city of Italy: Tanis of Egypt, &c. He joins a smaller city with a more important one in each case: his point being, that the dignity of the Episcopos was not to be estimated by wealth, but by meritorious service. He makes all alike successors of the Apostles.

divitiarum et paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit. Caeterum omnes Apostolorum successores sunt. Sed dicis, quomodo Romae ad testimonium diaconi presbyter ordinatur? Quid mihi profers unius urbis consuetudinem? Quid paucitatem, de qua ortum est supercilium, in leges Ecclesiae vindicas? Omne quod rarum est, plus appetitur. Pulegium[1] apud Indos pipere pretiosius est. Diaconos paucitas honorabiles, presbyteros turba contemptibiles facit. Caeterum etiam in Ecclesia Romae, presbyteri sedent, et stant diaconi: licet paulatim increbrescentibus vitiis, inter presbyteros absente Episcopo sedere diaconum viderim: et in domesticis conviviis, benedictiones presbyteris dare. Discant qui hoc faciunt non se recte facere, et audiant apostolos: *Non est dignum, ut relinquentes verbum Dei, ministremus mensis.* Sciant, quare diaconi constituti sint: Legant Acta apostolorum; recordentur conditionis suae. Presbyter et Episcopus aliud aetatis, aliud dignitatis est nomen. Unde et ad Titum, et ad Timotheum de ordinatione Episcopi et diaconi dicitur: de presbyteris omnino reticetur, quia in Episcopo et presbyter continetur. Qui provehitur, de minori ad majus provehitur. Aut igitur ex presbytero ordinetur diaconus, ut presbyter minor diacono comprobetur, in quem crescit ex parvo; aut si ex diacono ordinatur presbyter, noverit se lucris minorem, sacerdotio esse majorem. Et ut sciamus traditiones apostolicas sumptas de veteri testamento, quod Aaron et filii ejus atque Levitae in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi Episcopi et presbyteri et diaconi vendicent in ecclesia.[2]

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[1] *Pulegium.*—A herb, common and despised in Italy, prized by Indians It was just the reverse with the other herb mentioned.

[2] Isaiah xxxii., 6.

HIERONYMUS DAMASO.

* * * * Unde et Paulus ad Ecclesias scribens: *Gratia vobis*, inquit, *et pax à Deo Patre nostro, et Domino Jesu Christo: gratia*, quae non ex merito retributa, sed ex donante concessa est. *Pax* verò, qua reconciliati Deo sumus, habentes propitiatorem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui donavit nobis delicta nostra, et *delevit chirographum mortis, quod erat contra nos, affigens illud cruci, et principatus et potestates fecit ostentui, triumphams eas in ligno.* Quae autem major potest esse clementia, quàm ut Filius Dei, hominis Filius nasceretur? decem mensium fastidia sustineret? partus expectaret adventum, involveretur pannis, subjiceretur parentibus? per singulas adoleret aetates? et post contumelias vocum, alapas et flagella, crucis quoque *pro nobis fieret maledictum, ut nos à maledicto legis absolveret, patri factus obediens usque ad mortem:* et id opere compleret, quod ante ex persona mediatoris fuerat deprecatus, dicens: *Pater volo, quo modo ego et tu unum sumus, ita et isti in nobis unum sint?* Ergo quia ad hoc venerat, ut *quod erat impossibile legis, quia nemo ex ea justificabatur*, ineffabili misericordia vinceret, publicanos et peccatores ad poenitentiam provocabat: convivium quoque eorum expetens, ut in convivio docerentur: Sicut manifestum esse poterit ei qui Evangelia solicita mente perlegerit: quomodo et cibus ejus et potus et deambulatio, et universa, quae gessit in corpore, salutem hominum procurarint. Hoc videntes Scribae et Pharisaei, adversus legem eum facere dicebant. *Ecce homo vorax et vini potator, amicus publicanorum et peccatorum.* Nam ante reprehenderant, quare curaret in Sabbatis. Dominus ergo, ut hanc eorum accusationem clementi ratione superaret, treis parabolas proposuit: è quibus una est, nonaginta novem ovium in montibus relictarum et unius perditae, quae pastoris humeris est reducta. Alia drachmae, quam mulier accenso lumine requisivit, et inventa ea, vicinas ad laetitiam convocavit, dicens, *Congratulamini mihi,*

quia inveni drachmam, quam perdideram. Tertia verò duorum filiorum, de qua, ut disputarem pauca, jussisti. Et de ove quidem ac drachma, licet ad unum pertineant intellectum, non est istius temporis disputatio: hoc tantum dixisse sufficiat: ob id has parabolas esse propositas, ut quomodo ibi in inventione pecoris et drachmae, laetitia est Angelorum et circa manentium vicinarum: Sic in publicanorum peccatorumque poenitentia omnium debere esse laetitiam, quibus non est necessaria poenitentia. Unde vehementer admiror, Tertullianum in eo libro, quem de pudicitia adversum poenitentiam scripsit, et sententiam veterem, nova opinione dissolvit, hoc voluisse sentire, quod publicani et peccatores, qui cum Domino vescebantur, Ethnici fuerint, dicente Scriptura: *non erit vectigal pendens ex Israel:* Quasi verò et Matthaeus non ex circumcisione fuerit publicanus: et ille, qui cum Pharisaeo in templo orans, oculos ad coelum non audebat erigere, non ex Israel fuerit publicanus: aut non Lucas memoret: *Et omnis populus audiens et publicani justificaverunt Deum, baptizati baptismo Joannis.* Aut cuiquam credibile possit videri, Ethnicum templum ingressum, aut Dominum cum Ethnicis habuisse convivium, cum id maxime caveret, ne legem solvere videretur: et primum venit ad oves perditas domus Israel: Chananeae quoque deprecanti pro salute filiae responderit: *Non oportet tollere panem filiorum, et dare eum canibus.* Et alibi discipulis praeceperit: *In viam gentium ne abieritis, et in civitates Samaritanorum ne intraveritis.* Ex quibus omnibus edocemur, in publicanis, non tam gentilium, quàm generaliter omnium peccatorum, id est, qui erant et de Gentibus, et de Judaeis, accipi posse personas. Ille autem, qui juxta insanas et blasphemas foeminas suas id dogmatis defendebat, quo Christianos nollet recipere poenitentes, frustra argumentatus est publicanos Judaeos non fuisse, ut in persona eorum gentilium tantum populus possit intelligi.[1]

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[1] We give this little specimen of Jerome as an expositor. It is interesting in its reference to Tertullian, and the exposure of his defective reasonings in support of Montanist and Novatian discipline.

VI. AUGUSTINE.

This great Divine, who impressed his sentiments so deeply on succeeding ages, was born in Numidia, and educated in Carthage. His parents were Christians; but had to lament that their instructions failed to prevent their youthful son running into folly. He laments afterwards the extreme vanity of his early days, and recognises with gratitude the grace of God that arrested him in his course. He had embraced the errors of the Manicheans; and had nearly fallen into Academic Scepticism or Pyrrhonism. He was much indebted, besides the prayers of a singularly pious mother, to the holy Ambrose of Milan, whither Augustine had gone, after visiting Rome, in the capacity of a teacher of rhetoric. He received baptism at Ambrose's hands; and, prosecuting his study of sacred truth with singular success, became an honoured champion of the faith. He wrote largely against the various errors of the Manicheans, the Arians, and the Donatists; but especially was the instrument chosen of God to counteract Pelagian error. His work called "The City of God," is an illustrious vindication of Christianity.

Augustine became a presbyter in 389, and died bishop of Hippo, in Africa, in 430. He writes in fine Roman language, and with almost classic purity. We give a portion of his work "De Gratia:" also some of his views on the sacred office, from the "Christiana Doctrina."

AUGUSTINI DE GRATIA CHRISTI,

CONTRA PELAGIUM ET CŒLESIUM.

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1. QUANTUM de vestra corporali et maxime spirituali salute gaudeamus, sincerissimi fratres, dilecti a Deo, Albina, Piniane,[1] et Melania, quia effari non possumus, vobis cogitandum credendumque committimus, ut ea de quibus nos consuluistis potius jam loquamur. Festinante etenim perlatore inter occupationes nostras, multo apud Carthaginem quàm ubicumque alibi densiores, quantum Deus donare dignatus est, ut potuimus, ista dictavimus.

2. Scripsistis mihi, cum Pelagio[2] vos egisse, ut quaecumque adversus eum dicerentur, scripto damnaret: eumque dixisse audientibus vobis, "Anathemo qui vel sentit vel dicit, gratiam Dei qua Christus venit in hunc mundum peccatores salvos facere, non solum per singulas horas, aut per singula momenta, sed etiam per singulos actus nostros non esse necessariam; et qui hanc conantur auferre, poenas sortiantur aeternas." Quisquis haec audit, et sensum ejus

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[1] Pinianus was a chosen friend of Augustine, and his associate in former years at Rome or Milan. He finally settled as pastor or bishop at Thagaste, in Africa, after a residence in Sicily. Melania, daughter of Albina, was the wife of Pinianus. In another epistle, Augustine speaks of the "sanctae Albinæ." For Albina here some read Albine; which would suit more literally to "fratres."

[2] The Pelagian doctrine had its origin in the east; it may in part be traced to Origen, or to Theodorus of Mopsuestia. Pelagius, a British monk, and Coelestius his disciple, became its chief abettors. Having tried to spread their opinions in Rome and Sicily, they thence went to Africa—the scene of Augustine's labours. Their doctrine was condemned by a council at Carthage, held in 412. Pelagius, favoured by John of Jerusalem, found it more easy to satisfy a small eastern council held at Diospolis in Palestine, before which he in words disclaimed opposition to the doctrine of grace, but was thought to prevaricate somewhat. He also, or Coelestius, in the first instance imposed on Zosimus of Rome; but the influence of Augustine and of the council of Carthage prevailed to check the progress of the heresy.

ignorat, quem in libris suis satis evidenter expressit, non illis quos dicit inemendatos sibi fuisse subreptos, aut omnino suos negat, sed in illis quos litteris suis quas Romam misit commemorat, omnino eum putat hoc sentire quod veritas habet. Quisquis autem quid in eis apertius dicat advertit, debet habere etiam ista verba suspecta. Quia et si gratiam Dei, qua Christus venit in mundum peccatores salvos facere, in solo remissione peccatorum constituat, potest huic sensui verba isti coaptare dicens, ideo eam per singulas horas, per singula momenta, et per actus singulos necessariam, ut semper in memoria retinentes et reminiscentes dimissa nobis esse peccata, non peccemus ulterius, adjuti non aliqua subministratione virtutis, sed viribus propriae voluntatis, quid sibi remissione peccatorum praestitum fuerit per actus singulos recordantis. Item quoniam solent dicere, nobis in eo Christum ad non peccandum praebuisse adjutorium, quia juste ipse vivendo justeque docendo reliquit exemplum: possunt etiam ad hoc ista verba coaptare, ut dicant, per singula momenta, per singulos actus necessariam nobis esse hujusmodi gratiam, id est, ut in omni conversatione nostra intueamur dominicae conversationis exemplum. Pervidet autem fides vestra, a confessione gratiae, de qua quaestio est, quam sit distinguenda ista confessio: et tamen obtegi potest istorum ambiguitate verborum.

3. Sed quid mirum? Quando quidem ipse Pelagius cum episcopalibus gestis[1] sine ulla recusatione damnaverit eos, qui dicunt gratiam Dei et adjutorium non ad singulos actus dari, sed in libero arbitrio esse, vel in lege atque doctrina; ubi putabamus ejus de hac re omnes tergiversationes esse consumtas; damnaverit etiam eos, qui docent gratiam Dei secundum merita nostra dari: tamen in libris quos edidit pro libero arbitrio, quorum mentionem facit in epistola quam Romam misit, nihil aliud sentire monstratur, quam id quod damnasse videbatur. Nam gratiam Dei et adjutorium, quo

[1] *Episcopalibus gestis.*—The reference may be to the Synod of Diospolis or Lydda, which acquitted Pelagius, or to an African Synod.

adjuvamur ad non peccandum, aut in natura et libero ponit arbitrio, aut in lege atque doctrina: ut videlicet, cum adjuvat Deus hominem, ut declinet a malo et faciat bonum, revelando et ostendendo quid fieri debeat, adjuvare credatur; non etiam co-operando et dilectionem inspirando, ut id quod faciendum esse cognoverit faciat.

4. Nam cum tria constituat atque distinguat, quibus divina mandata dicit impleri, possibilitatem, voluntatem, actionem; possibilitatem scilicet, qua potest homo esse justus; voluntatem, qua vult esse justus; actionem, qua justus est; horum trium primum, id est, possibilitatem datam confitetur a creatore naturae, nec esse in nostra potestate, sed eam nos habere etiam si nolimus: duo verò reliqua, id est, voluntatem et actionem nostra esse asserit, atque ita nobis tribuit, ut nonnisi a nobis esse contendat. Denique gratia Dei, non ista duo, quae nostra omnino vult esse, id est, voluntatem et actionem; illam quae sed in potestate nostra non est, et nobis ex Deo est, id est, possibilitatem, perhibet adjuvari: tamquam illa quae nostra sunt, hoc est, voluntas et actio, tam sint valentia ad declinandum a malo et faciendum bonum, ut divino adjutorio non indigeant; illud vero quod nobis ex Deo est, hoc sit invalidum, id est, possibilitas, ut semper gratiae adjuvetur auxilio.

5. Sed ne quis forsitan dicat, nos vel non recte intelligere quae loquitur, vel malevolo animo in alium sensum quae non ita dicta sunt vertere, ipsa jam verba ejus accipite. "Nos *inquit*, sic tria ista distinguimus, et certum velut in ordinem digesta partimur. Primo loco *posse* statuimus, secundo *velle*, tertio *esse*. Posse in natura, velle in arbitrio, esse in effectu locamus. Primum illud, id est, posse, àd Deum propriae pertinet, qui illud creaturae suae contulit: duo vero reliqua, hoc est, velle et esse, ad hominem referenda sunt, quia de arbitrii fonte descendunt. Ergo in voluntate et opere bono laus hominis est: immo et hominis, et Dei, qui ipsius voluntatis et operís possibilitatem dedit, quique ipsam possibilitatem gratiae suae adjuvat semper auxilio. Quod vero potest homo velle bonum atque perficere, solius Dei est. Potest

itaque illud unum esse, etiam si duo ista non fuerint: ista vero sine illo esse non possunt. Itaque liberum mihi est, nec voluntatem bonam habere, nec actionem: nullo autem modo possum non habere possibilitatem boni: inest mihi etiam si noluero, nec otium sui aliquando in hoc natura recipit. Quem nobis sensum exempla aliqua facient clariorem. Quod possumus videre oculis, nostrum non est: quod vero bene aut male videmus, hoc nostrum est. Et ut generaliter universa complectar, quod possumus omne bonum facere, dicere, cogitare, illius est qui hoc posse donavit, qui hoc posse adjuvat: quod vero bene vel agimus, vel loquimur, vel cogitamus, nostrum est; quia haec omnia vertere in malum etiam possumus. Unde, quod propter calumniam vestram saepe repetendum est, cum dicimus hominem posse esse sine peccato, et confessione possibilitatis acceptae laudamus Deum, qui nobis hoc posse largitus est, nec est ibi ulla laudandi hominis occasio, ubi solius Dei causa tractatur: non enim de velle, nec de esse, sed tantummodo de eo quod potest esse, disseritur."

6. Ecce est totum dogma Pelagii in libro ejus tertio pro libero arbitrio, his omnino verbis diligenter expressum, quo tria ista, unum quod est posse, alterum quod est velle, tertium quod est esse, id est possibilitatem, voluntatem, actionem, tanta curavit subtilitate distinguere, ut quandocumque legimus, vel audimus, divinae gratiae adjutorium confiteri, ut a malo declinemus bonumque faciamus, sive in lege atque doctrina, sive ubilibet constituat, sciamus quid loquitur; nec erremus, aliter eum intelligendo quam sentit. Scire quippe debemus, quod nec voluntatem nostram, nec actionem divino adjuvari credit auxilio, sed solam possibilitatem voluntatis atque operis, quam solam in his tribus nos habere affirmat ex Deo, tanquam hoc sit infirmum, quod Deus ipse posuit in natura; cetera vero duo quae nostra esse voluit, ita sint firma, et fortia, et sibi sufficientia, ut nullo indigeant ejus auxilio; et ideo non adjuvet ut velimus, non adjuvet ut agamus, sed tantummodo adjuvet ut velle et agere valeamus. Contra autem Apostolus, Cum timore, inquit, et tremore

vestram ipsorum operamini salutem. Et ut scirent, quia non tantum in eo quod operari possint, (hoc enim in naturâ et in doctrina jam acceperant;) sed etiam in eo quod operantur divinitus adjuvantur, non ait, Deus est enim qui operatur in vobus posse, tamquam ipsi jam et velle et operari per se ipsos habeant, nec in his duobus adjutorio ejus indigeant; sed ait, Deus enim est qui operatur in vobis et velle et perficere; vel sicut in aliis et maxime Graecis codicibus legitur, et velle et operari. Videte si non Apostolus gratiae Dei futuros adversarios sancto Spiritu tanto ante praevidit, et haec duo, id est, et velle et operari, quae iste ita nostra esse voluit, tamquam ipsa divinae gratiae non adjuventur auxilio, Deum in nobis dixit operari.

7. Neque hinc Pelagius incautos fallat et simplices, vel etiam se ipsum, quoniam cum dixisset, *Ergo in voluntate et opere bono laus hominis est*: velut correxit atque addidit, *immo et hominis, et Dei.* Non enim hoc propterea dixit, quia secundum sanam doctrinam intelligi voluit, quod et velle et operari Deus operetur in nobis: sed cur hoc dixerit, satis evidenter ostendit, continuò subjungendo, *qui ipsius voluntatis et operis possibilitatem dedit.* Hanc autem possibilitatem in natura eum ponere, de verbis ejus superioribus clarum est. Sed ne nihil de gratia dixisse videretur, adjunxit, *quique ipsam possibilitatem gratiae suae adjuvat semper auxilio:* non ait, ipsam voluntatem, vel ipsam operationem; quod si diceret, non abhorrere a doctrina apostolica videretur: sed ait; *ipsam possibilitatem,* illud videlicet ex tribus quod in natura locavit, *gratiae sua adjuvat semper auxilio:* ut scilicet in voluntate et actione non ideo laus sit et Dei et hominis quïa sic vult homo, ut tamen Deus voluntati ejus ardorem dilectionis inspiret; et sic operatur homo, ut tamen Deus cooperetur, sine cujus adjutorio quid est homo? sed ideo ad hanc laudem adjunxit et Deum, quia nisi natura esset, in qua nos condidit, qua velle et agere possemus, nec vellemus, nec ageremus.

8. Hanc autem naturalem possibilitatem quod adjuvari Dei gratis confitetur, non est hic apertum vel quam

dicat gratiam vel quatenus eâ naturam sentiat adjuvari: sed sicut aliis locis, in quibus evidentius loquitur, intelligi potest, not vult aliud accipi quam legem atqui doctrinam, qua naturalis possibilitas adjuvetur. Nam quodam loco ait, "Hic nos imperitissimi hominum putant injuriam divinae gratiae facere, quia dicimus eam sine voluntate nostra nequaquam in nobis perficere sanctitatem: quasi Deus gratiae suae aliquid imperaverit, et non illis quibus imperavit, etiam gratiae suae auxilium subministret, ut quod per liberum hominis facere jubentur arbitrium, facilius possent implere per gratiam." Et tamquam explicaturus quam dicat gratiam, secutus adjunxit, dicens, "Quam nos non, ut tu putas, in lege tantummodo, sed et in Dei esse adjutorio confitemur." Quis non hic desideret, ut ostendat quam velit intelligi gratiam? Propter hoc enim maxime de illo exspectare debemus, ut dicat hoc quod dicit, non in lege tantummodo se gratiam confiteri. Sed nobis hac expectatione suspensis, quid addiderit intuemini: "Adjuvat enim nos Deus, *inquit*, per doctrinam et revelationem suam, dum cordis nostri oculos aperit; dum nobis, ne presentibus occupemur, futura demonstrat; dum diaboli pandit insidias; dum nos multiformi et ineffabili dono gratiae caelestis illuminat." Deinde sententiam suam quandam velut absolutione concludens, "Qui haec dicit, *inquit*, gratiam tibi videtur negare? An et liberum hominis arbitrium, et Dei gratiam confitetur?" In his omnibus non recessit a commendatione legis atque doctrinae, hanc esse adjuvantem gratiam diligenter inculcans, et hoc exsequens quod proposuerat, cum diceret, *sed in Dei esse adjutorio confitemur.* Denique Dei adjutorium multipliciter insinuandum putavit, commemorando doctrinam et revelationem, et oculorum cordis adapertionem, et demonstrationem futurorum, et apertionem diabolicarum insidiarum, et multiformi atque ineffabili dono gratiae caelestis illuminationem: ad hoc utique ut divina praecepta et promissa discamus. Hoc est ergo gratiam Dei ponere in lege atque doctrina.

9. Hinc itaque apparet, hanc eum gratiam confiteri, qua

demonstrat et revelat Deus quid agere debeamus; non qua donat atque adjuvat ut agamus: cum ad hoc potius valeat legis agnitio, si gratiae desit opitulatio, ut fiat mandati praevaricatio. Ubi enim non est lex, ait Apostolus, nec praevaricatio. Et, Concupiscentiam nesciebam, nisi lex diceret, Non concupisces. Ac per hoc, usque adeo aliud est lex, aliud est gratia, ut lex non solum nihil prosit, verum etiam plurimum obsit, nisi adjuvet gratia; et haec ostendatur legis utilitas, quoniam quos facit praevaricationis reos, cogit confugere ad gratiam liberandos, et ut concupiscentias malas superent adjuvandos. Jubet enim magis quam juvat; docet morbum esse, non sanat; immo ab ea potius quod non sanatur augetur, ut adtentius et sollicitius gratiae medicina quaeratur. Quia littera occidit, spiritus autem vivificat. Si enim data esset lex quae posset vivificare, omnino ex lege esset justitia. In quantum tamen etiam lex adjuvet, adjungit et dicit, Sed conclusit Scriptura omnia sub peccato, ut promissio ex fide Jesu Christi daretur credentibus. Itaque lex, inquit, Paedagogus noster fuit in Christo Jesu. Hoc ipsum ergo superbis est utile, sub peccato artius manifestiusque concludi, ne ad faciendam justitiam de liberi arbitrii quasi propriis viribus praesumatur; sed omne os obstruatur, et reus fiat omnis mundus Deo, quia non justificabitur ex lege omnis caro coram illo. Per legem enim cognitio peccati: nunc autem sine lege justitia Dei manifestata est, testificata per legem et prophetas. Quomodo ergo sine lege manifestata, si per legem testificata? Non itaque sine lege manifestata, sed sine lege justitia, quia justitia Dei est, id est, quae nobis non ex lege sit, sed ex Deo: non quae illo imperante cognoscendo timeatur, sed quae illo donante diligendo teneatur, ut et qui gloriatur in Domino glorietur.

10. Quid ergo est, quod iste legem atque doctrinam deputat gratiam, qua juvamur ad operandam justitiam, quae ut multum adjuvet, ad hoc adjuvat ut gratia requiratur? Nemo enim potest legem implere per legem. Plenitudo enim legis caritas. Caritas autem Dei non per legem diffusa est in cordibus nostris, sed per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est

nobis. Proinde per legem gratia domonstratur, ut lex per gratiam compleatur. Quid enim juvat Pelagium, quia diversis verbis eamdem rem dicit, ut non intelligatur in lege atque doctrina gratiam constituere, qua possibilitatem naturae asserit adjuvari? Quantum autem existimo, ideo veretur intelligi, quia damnavit eos, qui dicunt gratiam Dei et adjutorium non ad singulos actus dari, sed in libero arbitrio esse, vel in lege atque doctrina: et tamen latere se putat, cum aliis atque aliis locutionibus versat significationem legis atque doctrinae.

11. Et alio quippe loco, cum diu asseruisset, non adjutorio Dei, sed ex nobis ipsis in nobis effici voluntatem bonam, opposuit sibi ex apostoli epistola quaestionem, atque ait, "Et quomodo *inquit*, stabit illud Apostoli, Deus est enim qui operatur in vobis et velle et perficere?" Deinde ut hanc oppositionem veluti solveret quam videbat dogmati suo vehementer esse contrariam, secutus adjunxit: "Operatur in nobis velle quod bonum est, velle quod sanctum est, dum nos terrenis cupiditatibus deditos, et mutorum more animalium tantummodo praesentia diligentes, futurae gloriae magnitudine et praemiorum pollicitatione succendit, dum revelatione sapientiae in desiderium Dei stupentem suscitat voluntatem, dum nobis (quod tu alibi negare non metuis) suadet omne quod bonum est." Quid manifestius, nihil aliud eum dicere gratiam, qua Deus in nobis operatur velle quod bonum est, quam legem atque doctrinam? In lege namque et doctrina sanctarum scripturarum futurae gloriae atque praemiorum promittitur magnitudo. Ad doctrinam pertinet etiam quod sapientia revelatur, ad doctrinam pertinet cum suadetur omne quod bonum est. Et si inter docere et suadere, vel potius exhortari, distare aliquid videtur; etiam hoc tamen doctrinae generalitate concluditur, quae quibusque sermonibus vel litteris continetur: nam et sanctae scripturae et docent et exhortantur, et potest esse in docendo et exhortando etiam hominis operatio. Sed nos eam gratiam volumus iste aliquando fateatur, qua futurae gloriae magnitudo non solum promittitur, verum etiam creditur et speratur; nec

solum revelatur sapientia, verum et amatur; nec solum suadetur omne quod bonum est, verum et persuadetur. Non enim omnium est fides, qui audiunt per Scripturas Dominum regnum caelorum pollicentem; aut omnibus persuadetur quibuscumque suadetur, ut veniant ad eum qui dicit, Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis. Quorum autem sit fides, et quibus persuadetur, ut ad eum veniant, satis ipse demonstravit, ubi ait, Nemo venit ad me, nisi Pater qui misit me, traxerit eum. Et paulo post, cum de non credentibus loqueretur, Dixi, inquit, vobis, quia nemo potest venire ad me, nisi fuerit ei datum a Patre meo.[1] Hanc debet Pelagius gratiam confiteri, si vult non solum vocari, verum etiam esse Christianus.

12. Quid autem dicam de revelatione sapientiae? Neque enim facile quisquam speraverit in hac vita posse pervenire ad magnitudinem revelationum apostoli Pauli: et utique in eis quid aliud credendum est ei revelari solere, nisi quod ad sapientiam pertineret? Et tamen dicit, In magnitudine revelationum mearum ne extollar, datus est mihi stimulus carnis mea, angelus Satanae qui me colaphizet. Propter quod ter Dominum rogavi, ut auferret eum a me: et dixit mihi, Sufficit tibi gratia mea, nam virtus in infirmitate perficitur. Procul dubio si jam summa, et cui nihil esset addendum, caritas in Apostolo tunc fuisset, quae omnino non posset inflari, numquid necessarius esset angelus Satanae, quo colaphizante reprimeretur elatio, quae in magnitudine revelationum posset exsistere? Quid est autem aliud elatio, quam inflatio? Et utique de caritate verissime dictum est, Caritas non aemulatur, non inflatur. Haec itaque caritas adhuc etiam in tanto Apostolo de die in diem profecto augebatur, quamdiu homo ejus interior de die in diem renovabatur, perficienda sine dubio ubi jam non posset inflari. Tunc autem mens ejus adhuc erat ubi inflaretur magnitudine revelationis, donec impleretur solido aedificio caritatis: nondum enim perveniendo apprehenderat, quo proficiendo currebat.

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[1] Jo. 6, 45.

13. Ideoque nolenti perpeti molestiam, qua ejus cohiberetur elatio, antequam esset in eo caritatis ultima et summa perfectio, rectissime dicitur, Sufficit tibi gratia mea, nam virtus in infirmitate perficitur: *in infirmitate* scilicet, non ut ille putat, *carnis tantum;* sed et carnis et animi: quia et animus erat in comparatione summae illius perfectionis infirmus, cui, ne extolleretur, proinde stimulus carnis angelus Satanae intelligebatur datus: quamvis esset in carnalium vel animalium, nondum percipientium quae sunt Spiritus Dei, comparatione, firmissimus. Quocirca si virtus in infirmitate perficitur, quisquis se non fatetur infirmum, non perficitur. Haec autem gratia qua virtus in infirmitate perficitur, praedestinatos et secundum propositum vocatos ad summam perfectionem glorificationemque perducit. Qua gratia agitur, non solum ut facienda noverimus, verum etiam ut cognita faciamus; nec solum ut diligenda credamus, verum etiam ut credita diligamus.

14. Haec gratia si doctrina dicenda est, certe sic dicatur, ut altius et interius eam Deus cum ineffabili suavitate credatur infundere, non solum per eos qui plantant et rigant extrinsecus, sed etiam per se ipsum qui incrementum suum ministrat occultus, ita ut non ostendat tantummodo veritatem, verum etium impertiat caritatem. Sic enim docet Deus eos qui secundum propositum vocati sunt, simul donans et quid agant scire, et quod sciunt agere. Unde ad Thessalonicenses sic Apostolus loquitur: De caritate autem fraternitatis non opus habetis vobis scribi; nam ipsi vos a Deo didicistis ut diligatis invicem. Atque ut probaret eos a Deo didicisse, subjunxit, Etenim facitis illud in omnes fratres, in universa Macedonia. Tamquam hoc sit certissimum indicium quod a Deo didiceris, si id quod didiceris feceris. Isto modo sunt omnes secundum propositum vocati, sicut scriptum est in Prophetis, docibiles Dei. Qui autem novit quidem quod fieri debeat, et non facit, nondum a Deo didicit secundum gratiam, sed secundum legem; non secundum spiritum, sed secundum litteram. Qumvis multi, quod imperat lex, facere videantur timore poenae, non amore justitiae: quam dicit

Apostolus justitiam suam quae ex lege est; tamquam sit imperata, non data. Si autem data est, non dicitur justitia nostra, sed Dei: qui sic fit nostra, ut sit nobis ex Deo. Dicit enim, Ut inveniar in illo non habens meam justitiam,[1] quae ex lege est, sed eam quae ex fide est Jesu, justitiam ex Deo. Tantum igitur inter legem distat et gratiam, ut cum lex esse non dubitetur ex Deo, justitia tamen quae ex lege est, non sit ex Deo; sed justitia quae per gratiam consummatur, ex Deo. Quia ex lege justitia dicitur, quae fit propter legis maledictum: justitia ex Deo dicitur, quae datur per gratiae beneficium; ut non sit terribile, sed suave mandatum, sicut oratur in Psalmo,[2] Suavis es Domine, et in tua suavitate doce me justitiam tuam: id est, ut non formidine poenae serviliter cogar esse sub lege, sed libera caritate delecter esse cum lege. Praeceptum quippe liber facit, qui libens facit. Et hoc modo quisquis discit, agit omnino quidquid agendum didicerit.

15. De isto docendi modo etiam Dominus ait, Omnis qui audivit a Patre meo et didicit, venit ad me. Qui ergo non venerit, non de illo recte dicitur, Audivit quidem et didicit sibi esse veniendum, sed facere non vult quod didicit. Prorsus non recte dicitur de isto docendi modo, quo per gratiam docet Deus. Si enim, sicut Veritas loquitur, Omnis qui didicit, venit: quisquis non venit, profecto nec didicit. Quis autem non videat, et venire quemquam et non venire arbitrio voluntatis? Sed hoc arbitrium potest esse solum, si non venit: non autem potest nisi adjutum esse, si venit; et sic adjutum, ut non solum quid faciendum sit sciat, sed quod scierit etiam faciat. Ac per hoc, quando Deus docet, non per legis litteram, sed per Spiritus gratiam; ita docet, ut quod quisque didicerit, non tantum cognoscendo videat, sed etiam volendo appetat, agendoque perficiat. Et isto divino docendi modo etiam ipsa voluntas et ipsa operatio, non sola volendi et operandi naturalis possibilitas adjuvatur. Si enim solum posse nostrum hac gratia juvaretur, ita diceret

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[1] Phil. iii., 9. [2] Psalm cxix., 68.

Dominus: Omnis qui audivit a patre et didicit, potest venire ad me. Non autem ita dixit: sed, Omnis qui audivit, inquit, a Patre et didicit, venit ad me. Venire posse in natura ponit Pelagius, vel etiam, ut modo dicere coepit, in gratia, qualemlibet eam sentiat, *qua ipsa*, ut dicit, *possibilitas adjuvatur:* venire autem jam in voluntate et opere est. Non est autem consequens, ut qui potest venire, etiam veniat, nisi id voluerit atque fecerit. Sed omnis qui didicit a Patre, non solum potest venire, sed venit: ubi jam et possibilitatis profectus, et voluntatis affectus, et actionis effectus est.

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EX LIB. EJUSDEM DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA.

LIB. II.

Philosophi autem qui vocantur, si qua forte vera et fidei nostrae accommodata dixerunt, maxime Platonici, non solum formidanda non sunt, sed ab eis etiam tamquam injustis possessoribus in usum nostrum vindicanda. Sicut enim Ægyptii non solum idola habebant et onera gravia quae populus Israel detestaretur et fugeret, sed etiam vasa atque ornamenta de auro et argento, et vestem, quae ille populus exiens de Ægyto, sibi potius tamquam ad usum meliorem clanculo vindicavit, non auctoritate propria, sed praecepto Dei, ipsis Ægyptiis nescienter commodantibus ea, quibus non bene utebantur: sic doctrinae omnes gentilium non solum simulata et superstitiosa figmenta gravesque sarcinas supervacanei laboris habent, quae unusquisque nostrum duce Christo de societate gentilium exiens, debet abominari atque devitare; sed etiam liberales disciplinas usui veritatis aptiores, et quaedam morum praecepta utilissima continent, deque ipso uno Deo colendo non-nulla vera inveniuntur apud eos, quod eorum tamquam aurum et argentum, quod non ipsi instituerunt, sed de quibusdam quasi metallis divinae providentiae, quae ubique infusa est, eruerunt, et quo perverse atque injuriose ad obsequia daemonum abutuntur, cum ab eorum misera societate sese animo separat, debet ab eis auferre Christianus ad usum justum praedicandi Evangelii. Vestem quoque illorum, id est hominum quidem instituta, sed tamen accommodata humanae societati, qua in hac vita carere non possumus, accipere atque habere licuerit in usum convertenda Christianum.

Nam quid aliud fecerunt multi boni fideles nostri? Nonne

adspicimus quanto auro et argento et veste suffarcinatus exierit de Ægypto Cyprianus doctor suavissimus et martyr beatissimus? quanto Lactantius; quanto Victorinus, Optatus, Hilarius, ut de vivis taceam; quanto innumerabiles Graeci? Quod prior ipse fidelissimus Dei famulus Moises fecerat, de quo scriptum est, quod eruditus fuerit omni sapientia Ægyptiorum. Quibus omnibus viris superstitiosa gentium consuetudo, et maxime illis temporibus, cum Christi recutiens jugum Christianos persequebatur, disciplinas quas utiles habebat, numquam commodaret, si eas in usum colendi unius Dei, quo vanus idolorum cultus exscinderetur, conversum iri suspicaretur: sed dederunt aurum et argentum et vestem suam exeunti populo Dei de Ægypto, nescientes quemadmodum illa quae dabant, in Christi obsequium cederent. Illud enim in Exodo factum, sine dubio figuratum est, ut hoc praesignaret: quod, sine praejudicio alterius, aut paris aut melioris intelligentiae, dixerim.

Sed hoc modo instructus divinarum Scripturarum studiosus, cum ad eas perscrutandas accedere coeperit, illud apostolicum cogitare non cesset, *Scientia inflat, caritas aedificat.* Ita enim sentiet, quamvis de Ægypto dives exeat, tamen nisi Pascha egerit, salvum se esse non posse. Pascha autem nostrum immolatus est Christus, nihilque magis immolatio Christi nos docet, quam illud quod ipse clamat, tamquam ad eos, quos in Ægypto sub Pharaone videt laborare: "Venite ad me qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos. Tollite jugum meum super vos, et discite a me, quia mitis sum, et humilis corde; et invenietis requiem animabus vestris. Jugum enim meum lene est, et sarcina mea levis est:" quibus, nisi mitibus et humilibus corde, quos non inflat scientia, sed caritas aedificat? * * * * *

LIB. IV.

Primo itaque expectationem legentium, qui forte me putant rhetorica daturum esse praecepta, quae in scholis secularibus et didici et docui, ista praelocutione cohibeo, atque ut a me non expectentur, admoneo: non quod nihil habeant utilitatis;

sed quod si quid habent, seorsum discendum est, si cui fortassis bono viro etiam haec vacat discere, non autem a me vel in hoc opere, vel in aliquo alio requirendum.

Nam cum per artem rhetoricam et vera suadeantur et falsa, quis audeat dicere, adversus mendacium in defensoribus suis inermem debere consistere veritatem, ut videlicet illi qui res falsas persuadere conantur, noverint auditorem vel benevolum, vel intentum, vel docilem proaemio facere; isti autem non noverint? Illi falsa breviter, aperte, verisimiliter; et isti vera sic narrent, ut audire taedeat, intelligere non pateat, credere postremo non libeat? Illi fallacibus argumentis veritatem oppugnent, asserant falsitatem; isti nec vera defendere, nec falsa valeant refutare? Illi animos audientium in errorem moventes impellentesque dicendo terreant, contristent, exhilarent, exhortentur ardenter; isti pro veritate, lenti frigidique dormitent? Quis ita desipiat, ut hoc sapiat? Cum ergo sit in medio posita facultas eloquii, quae ad persuadenda seu prava seu recta valet plurimum, cur non bonorum studio comparatur, ut militet veritati, si eam mali ad obtinendas perversas vanasque causas in usus iniquitatis et erroris usurpant? * * * * * * *

Debet igitur divinarum Scripturarum tractator et doctor, defensor rectae fidei ac debellator erroris, et bona docere, et mala dedocere: atque in hoc opere sermonis conciliare adversos, remissos erigere, nescientibus quid agatur, quid exspectare debeant intimare. Ubi autem benevolos, intentos, dociles aut invenerit, aut ipse fecerit, cetera peragenda sunt, sicut postulat causa. Si docendi sunt qui audiunt, narratione faciendum est, si tamen indigeat, ut res de qua agitur innotescat. Ut autem quae dubia sunt certa fiant, documentis adhibitis ratiocinandum est. Si vero qui audiunt movendi sunt potius quam docendi, ut in eo quod jam sciunt, agendo non torpeant, et rebus assensum, quas veras esse fatentur, accommodent, majoribus dicendi viribus opus est. Ibi obsecrationes et increpationes, concitationes et coercitiones, et quaecumque alia valeant ad commovendos animos, sunt necessaria.

Et haec quidem cuncta quae dixi, omnes fere homines in iis quae eloquendo agunt, facere non quiescunt: sed cum alii faciant obtuse, deformiter, frigide; alii acute, ornate, vehementer; illum ad hoc opus unde agimus, jam oportet accedere, qui potest disputare vel dicere sapienter, etiamsi non potest eloquenter, ut prosit audientibus, etiamsi minus quam prodesset, si et eloquenter posset dicere. Qui vero affluit insipienti eloquentia, tanto magis cavendus est, quanto magis ab eo in iis quae audire inutile est, delectatur auditor, et eum quoniam diserte dicere audit, etiam vere dicere existimat. Haec autem sententia nec illos fugit, qui artem rhetoricam docendam putarunt: fassi sunt enim sapientiam sine eloquentia parum prodesse civitatibus; eloquentiam vero sine sapientia nimium obesse plerumque, prodesse numquam. Si ergo hoc illi, qui praecepta eloquentiae tradiderunt, in eisdem libris in quibus id egerunt, veritate instigante coacti sunt confiteri, veram, hoc est supernam quae a Patre luminum descendit, sapientiam nescientes, quanto magis nos non aliud sentire debemus, qui hujus sapientiae filii et ministri sumus? Sapienter autem dicet homo tanto magis vel minus, quanto in Scripturis sanctis magis minusve profecit. Non dico in eis multum legendis memoriaeque mandandis, sed bene intelligendis, et diligenter earum sensibus indagandis. Sunt enim qui eas legunt, et negligunt: legunt ut teneant, negligunt ne intelligant. Quibus longe sine dubio praeferendi sunt, qui verba earum minus tenent, et cor earum sui cordis oculis vident. Sed utrisque ille melior, qui et cum volet eas dicit, et sicut oportet intelligit.

Huic ergo qui sapienter debet dicere, etiam quod non potest eloquenter, verba Scripturarum tenere maxime necessarium est. Quanto enim se pauperiorem cernit in suis, tanto eum oportet in istis esse ditiorem; ut quod dixerit suis verbis, probet ex illis; et qui propriis verbis minor erat, magnorum testimonio quodammodo crescat. Probando enim delectat, qui minus potest delectare dicendo. Porro qui non solum sapienter, verum etiam eloquenter vult dicere, quoniam profecto plus proderit, si utrumque potuerit; ad legendos

vel audiendos et exercitatione imitandos eloquentes eum mitto libentius, quam magistris artis rhetoricae vacare praecipio: si tamen ii qui leguntur et audiuntur, non solum eloquenter, sed etiam sapienter dixisse vel dicere veraci praedicatione laudantur. * * * * * *

Dixit ergo quidam eloquens,[1] et verum dixit, ita dicere debere eloquentem, ut doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat. Deinde addidit, Docere necessitatis est, delectare suavitatis, flectere victoriae. Horum trium quod primo loco positum est, hoc est docendi necessitas, in rebus est constituta, quas dicimus; reliqua duo in modo, quo dicimus. Qui ergo dicit cum docere vult, quamdiu non intelligitur, nondum se existimet dixisse quod vult ei quem vult docere. Quia etsi dixit quod ipse intelligit, nondum illi dixisse putandus est, a quo intellectus non est: si vero intellectus est, quocumque modo dixerit, dixit. Quod si etiam delectare vult eum, cui dicit, aut flectere, non quocumque modo dixerit faciet, sed interest quomodo dicat ut faciat. Sicut est autem ut teneatur ad audiendum, delectandus auditor, ita flectendus, ut moveatur ad agendum. Et sicut delectatur si suaviter loquaris; ita flectitur si amet quod polliceris, timeat quod minaris, oderit quod arguis; quod commendas amplectatur, quod dolendum exaggeras doleat, cum quid laetandum praedicas gaudeat, misereatur eorum, quos miserandos ante oculos dicendo constituis, fugiat eos, quos cavendos terrendo proponis, et quidquid aliud grandi eloquentia fieri potest ad commovendos animos auditorum, non quid agendum sit ut sciant, sed ut agant quod agendum esse jam sciunt. * * * *

Qui ergo nititur dicendo persuadere quod bonum est, nihil horum trium spernens, ut scilicet doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat, oret atque agat, ut quemadmodum supra diximus, intelligenter, libenter, obedienterque audiatur. Quod cum apte et convenienter facit, non immerito eloquens dici potest, etsi non eum sequatur auditoris assensus. Ad haec enim tria, id est ut doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat, etiam tria illa videtur

[1] Cicero: Orator, ad M. Brut. 69.

pertinere voluisse idem ipse Romani auctor eloquii, cum itidem dixit: Is igitur erit eloquens, qui poterit parva submisse, modica temperate, magna granditer dicere: tamquam si adderet illa etiam tria, et sic explicaret unam eamdemque sententiam dicens, Is erit igitur eloquens, qui ut doceat, poterit parva submisse; ut delectet, modica temperate; ut flectat, magna granditer dicere.

Haec autem tria ille, sicut ab eo dicta sunt, in causis forensibus posset ostendere: non autem hîc, hoc est in ecclesiasticis quaestionibus, in quibus hujusmodi, quem volumus informare, sermo versatur. In illis enim ea parva dicuntur, ubi de rebus pecuniariis judicandum est; ea magna, ubi de salute ac de capite hominum: ea vero ubi nihil horum judicandum est, nihilque agitur ut agat sive decernat, sed tantummodo ut delectetur auditor, inter utrumque quasi media, et ob hoc modica, hoc est moderata dixerunt. Modicis enim modus nomen imposuit: nam modica pro parvis abusive, non proprie dicimus. In istis autem nostris, quando quidem omnia, maxime quae de loco superiore[1] populis dicimus, ad

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[1] *Loco superiore.*—The pulpit—in distinction from the place in which the reader of ecclesiastical books, not inspired, took his place. Augustine gives in this same book of his Doct. Christ., a list of the canonical writings, of which he enjoins it on the student to be "*solertissimus indagator.*" The list of the New Testament books agrees entirely with our acknowledged canon, including the Apocalypse; but with the Old Testament books he includes a few which the Council of Laodicea, affirmed by that of Chalcedon afterwards, rejected, and Jerome had separated and marked off as apocryphal. Augustine's list is that of the Council of Carthage (397) at which he was present. They had not, it is thought, yet got possession of Jerome's works. The defenders of the Council of Trent, in sanctioning the Apocryphal books, have sought in Augustine's acknowledgment of Tobias and Judith, the Maccabees, &c., an apology for the procedure of that council. But it has been shewn by Protestant writers, that Augustine uses the word "canon" in a stricter and laxer sense; and that his frequent references in other parts of his writings to the Jewish canon as complete, and to certain Apocryphal books as having only a degree of authority, prove that, though he did not use the great care of Jerome, he was desirous that even the best of these Apocryphal books should not be elevated to the level of the Sacred Word. Speaking (in his city of God) of the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, he says it is chiefly in the west that they are received as having authority. Gaussen justly says, that "he would never speak thus of the true oracles of God." The same writer makes good use of the admissions of leading Roman Catholic writers, previous to the Council of Trent; especially of Cardinal Cajetan's frequent assertion in his

hominum salutem, nec temporariam, sed aeternam referre debemus; ubi etiam cavendus est aeternus interitus; omnia magna sunt quae dicimus.

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writings of the Church's acceptance of Jerome's carefully scrutinised list. "Thus," concludes Gaussen, "it is very evident that, even to the days of Luther and Cajetan (his opponent on behalf of the Pope) in 1533—that is to say, eleven or twelve years before the Council of Trent began—our entire doctrine on the Apocrypha was held at Rome as good and orthodox." See Gaussen's Appendix on the Apocrypha for the small authority belonging to the alleged canon of the Council of Carthage. He also puts in good contrast the "fifty-three" ecclesiastics assembled at Trent, who ventured to raise the Apocryphal writings to the level of Holy Scripture, with the *six hundred and thirty* at Chalcedon, who affirmed the decree of the Council of Laodicea—absolutely excluding the Apocryphal books.

Augustine's familiarity with the Septuagint Bible used in his part of the world instead of the Hebrew, and his somewhat excessive veneration for that book, though not altogether blind to its defects, accounts for his acknowledgment so far of Deutero-canonical writings. We can scarcely close this volume without giving an interesting letter from Augustine to Jerome, shewing, amidst some diversity of judgment, the interest which these distinguished fathers took in questions of biblical criticism and interpretation. Jerome's appeal to the original Hebrew will of course be commended by every one. Not the least thing to be noticed by the reader of such ancient correspondence is the fine example of respectful deference to the gifts and graces of one servant of Christ by another. What a contrast to the envy and rudeness of lesser minds!

EX EPISTOLA AUGUSTINI HIERONYMO.

Domino venerabili, et desiderabili sancto fratri, et compresbytero Hieronymo, Augustinus in Domino salutem.

* * * * * Quia ergo duas jam epistolas misi, nullam autem tuam postea recepi, easdem ipsas rursus mittere volui, credens eas non pervenisse. Quae etsi pervenerunt, ac fortasse tuae potius ad me pervenire minime potuerunt, ea ipsa scripta, quae jam misisti, iterum mitte, si forte reservata sunt: sin minus, rursus dicta quod legam, dum tamen his respondere ne graveris, quod jam diu est ut expecto. Primas etiam quas ad te adhuc presbyter litteras praeparaveram mittendas per quemdam fratrem nostrum Profuturum, qui postea collega nobis factus, jam ex hac vita migravit, nec

eas tunc ipse perferre potuit, quia continuo dum proficisci disponit, episcopatus sarcina detentus, ac deinde in brevi defunctus est, etiam nunc mittere volui: ut scias in tua colloquia quam olim inardescam, et quam vim patiar, quod a me tam longe absunt sensus corporis tui, per quos adire possit ad animum tuum animus meus, mi frater dulcissime, et in Domini membris honorande.

In hac autem epistola hoc addo, quod postea didicimus, Job ex Hebraeo a te interpretatum, cum jam quamdam haberemus interpretationem tuam ejusdem Prophetae ex graeco eloquio versam in latinum; ubi tamen asteriscis notasti quae in hebraeo sunt, et in graeco desunt; obeliscis autem quae in graeco inveniuntur, et in hebraeo non sunt, tam mirabili diligentia, ut quibusdam in locis ad verba singula, singulas stellas videamus, significantes eandem verba esse in hebraeo, in graeco autem non esse. Porro in hac posteriore interpretatione, quae versa est ex hebraeo, non eadem verborum fides occurrit, nec parum turbat cogitantem, vel cur in illa prima tanta diligentia figantur asterisci, ut minimas etiam particulas orationis indicent deesse codicibus graecis, quae sunt in hebraeis; vel cur in hac altera, quae ex hebraeis est, negligentius hoc curatum sit, ut hae eaedem particulae locis suis invenirentur. Aliquid inde, exempli gratia, volui ponere: sed mihi ad horam codex defuit, qui ex hebraeo est. Verumtamen quia praevolas ingenio, non solum quod dixerim, verum etiam quid dicere voluerim, satis, ut opinor, intelligis, ut causâ reddita, quod movet edisseras.

Ego sane te mallem graecas potius canonicas nobis interpretari Scripturas, quae Septuaginta interpretum perhibentur. Perdurum erit enim, si tua interpretatio per multas ecclesias frequentius coeperit lectitari, quod a graecis ecclesiis latinae ecclesiae dissonabunt, maxime quia facile contradictor convincitur graeco prolato libro, id est linguae notissimae. Quisquis autem in eo, quod ex hebraeo translatum est, aliquo insolito permotus fuerit, et falsi crimen intenderit; vix aut numquam ad hebraea testimonia pervenietur, quibus defendatur objectum. Quod si etiam perventum fuerit, tot latinas et graecas auctoritates damnari quis ferat? Huc accedit, quia etiam consulti Hebraei possunt aliud respondere: ut tu solus necessarius videaris, qui etiam ipsos possis convincere; sed tamen quo judice mirum si potueris invenire.

Nam quidam frater noster episcopus, cum lectitari instituisset in ecclesia, cui praeest, interpretationem tuam, movit quiddam longe aliter abs te positum apud Jonam prophetam, quam erat omnium sensibus memoriaeque inveteratum, et tot aetatum successionibus decantatum. Factus est tantus tumultus in plebe, maxime graecis arguentibus et inclamantibus calumniam falsitatis, ut cogeretur episcopus (ea quippe civitas erat) Judaeorum testimonium flagitare. Utrum autem illi imperitia an malitia, hoc esse in hebraeis codicibus responderunt, quod et graeci et latini habebant atque dicebant. Quid plura? Coactus est homo velut mendositatem corrigere, volens, post magnum periculum, non remanere sine plebe. Unde etiam nobis videtur, aliquando te quoque in nonnullis falli potuisse. Et vide hoc quale sit, in eis litteris, quae non possunt collatis usitatarum linguarum testimoniis emendari.

Proinde non parvas Deo gratias agimus de opere tuo, quo Evangelium ex graeco interpretatus es: quia pene in omnibus nulla offensio est, cum Scripturam graecam contulerimus. Unde, si quisquam veteri falsitati contentiosus faverit, prolatis collatisque codicibus, vel docetur facillime, vel refellitur. Et si quaedam rarissima merito movent; quis tam durus est, qui labori tam utili non facile ignoscat, cui vicem laudis referre non sufficit? Quid tibi autem videatur, cur in multis aliter se habeat hebraeorum codicum auctoritas, aliter graecorum quae dicitur Septuaginta, vellem dignareris aperire. Neque enim parvum pondus habet illa, quae sic meruit diffamari, et qua usos Apostolos, non solum res ipsa indicat, sed etiam te attestatum esse memini. Ac per hoc plurimum profueris, si eam graecam Scripturam, quam Septuaginta operati sunt, latinae veritati reddideris: quae in diversis codicibus ita varia est, ut tolerari vix possit; et ita suspecta, ne in graeco aliud inveniatur, ut inde aliquid proferri aut probari dubitetur. Brevem putabam futuram hanc epistolam: sed nescio quomodo ita mihi dulce factum est in ea progredi, ac si tecum loquerer. Sed obsecro te per Dominum, ne te pigeat ad omnia respondere, et praestare mihi, quantum potueris, praesentiam tuam.

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